Professor Freidin: "Curriculum Lacks Purpose"

by John Freidin

It's a funny thing about college that seldom are the principles uncovered and studied there applied to educational issues. The curriculum is an example: it is a product of history—of persons and personalities, of struggles for power and for funds, of conventional wisdom and of knowledge, of the sins and the virtues of the fathers descended upon the sons. The curriculum at Middlebury, as elsewhere, is not and probably never will be a product of reasoned choices. That's what makes it so controversial.

A curriculum ought to be one or a collection of courses of study and action designed to help students find their separate ways from where they are when they enter the curriculum to different, superior places when they have completed it. Curricular reform ought to be based upon reasoned evidence about where students are when they have completed the curriculum, and best available routes between the two points. A quick look at Middlebury's curriculum offers little evidence that it is based upon any educational purpose.

What does the present curriculum at Middlebury tell us about the purposes of the College, about the routes it would have students follow and the destinations it would have them reach? It says that each student ought to perform satisfactorily in thirty-six scholastic exercises, different in substantive content, but monotously similar in process: lectures, discussions, tell-it-over again examinations, and not-very-inventive papers. Students may not select any thirty-six courses, but even the limitations placed upon their selections reveal amblivalence of purpose. There are three such limitations:(1) every student must take or qualify out of English 101; (2) every student must complete a major; and (3) no student may take more than fourteen courses in one department. (Every student must also complete five seasons of Physical Education.)

English 101 is not one course so much as a collection of courses, one for each member of the faculty who teaches a section, for each instructor selects the material his students study. Because the staff of this course meets to discuss it, they may have developed and share some general goals. Yet, even those goals change from year to year, as the staff changes. The faculty's insistence that all students take or qualify out of this course hardly indicates much educational purpose. In English 101 three of the variable factors which most affect a course are subject to change; its goals, its content, and its instructors.

The College requirement that every student complete a major tells us little more. It supposedly indicates that the faculty thinks every student ought to concentrate or focus his studies in some intelligent way, but our majors do not tell us what constitutes an intelligent focus. Some majors—such as foreign languages, American Literature, Enviromental Studies, and Religion— are fields of knowledge; others purport to be disciplines, teaching a methodology, a dogma (fixed body of knowledge and principles), or a language of investigation —Economics (?) Chemistry (?), Art(?). Nor do the availability of some majors and the absence of others reveal much about educational purpose.

Surely there are competent instructors and adequate academic facilities to offer majors we do not now have. Equally surely many of our present majors differ so little from one another in anything but specific content that there is little educational reason for both: French, Spanish, and Italian:

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MIDDLEBURY CAMPUS

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Douglas Elected Chairman of State Young Republicans

Students from Middlebury College played a large part in the Vermont Young Republicans biennial convention which was held last Saturday at the Brandon Inn. Five sophomores and one junior were in the running with five other Vermonters for the positions of Chairman, Vice-Chairman, National Committee-Woman, National Committeeman, Secretary and Treasurer of the Federation. A number of other Midd students were present as voting members.

Victorious from Middlebury were Jim Douglas '72, elected Chairman, Bill Wood '73, elected Vice-Chairman, and Gladys Waltemade '73, elected Secretary. The other three positions were filled by Dick Cleveland (National Committeeman), Pat Cobler of Essex Junction (National Committeewoman), and Frank Morgan (Treasurer). These officers will each serve for two years. The Chairman, aside from his YR duties, also sits as a voting member on the state Senior Republican Committee.

The Chairmanship of the Vermont YR's was contested by Jim Douglas, who is also Chairman of the College YR's, and Bill Wood, a member active in much of the policy-making of the YR's and one who has stated his displeasure with ast May's campus strikes and the up-coming Mayday activities. A third candidate, right-winger Bruce Graham of Morrisville, was in the running but had his name withdrawn during the meeting and announced he was supporting Douglas.

During the Credentials Report an attempt was made by supporters of Wood to disenfranchise YR members who had renewed their memberships after March 31, 1971, the cut-off-date for signing up to be eligible to vote at the convention. It was hoped that such an act would disenfranchise members who would otherwise have voted for Douglas and Graham. After a ruling by Chairman Bud Palmer that YR's who had been members previous to March 31 and had renewed their membership after that date should not be expelled, and an appeal by Wood supporter Bill Porter, the issued was dismissed with by a vote of 39-22.

The six officers were elected one by one, not all at once. Therefore, when Jim Douglas was elected Chairman, Bill Wood was able to put his name in for Vice-Chairman, along with Bruce Graham. Wood was elected.

The YR's is an organization dedicated to enlisting young people into the Republican Party and to furthering the aims of the party. The main issue of discussion among the 61 YR's present at Saturdays's convention was the recent enfranch-

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Vote on EPC Report

The Faculty will pass or reject two proposals of major educational policy at the third session of its adjourned meeting on Wednesday, April 28.

The first proposal is to reduce the number of course credits required for graduation from 36 to 34. The Committee explains in its recommendations, "The four years of undergraduate experience is not necessarily spent most profitably in full-time study. This proposal would allow students to take fewer than four courses in one or more terms and would even allow students to omit one or two Winter terms.

"The comprehensive fee would remain the same regardless of how many courses a student takes during the Fall and Spring terms and whether or not he is registered for a Winter Term course."

The report also recommends that "Students (except for transfer students) normally spend at least three years in residence at Middlebury College before receiving a baccalaureate degree." It goes on to explain, "Although four years of undergraduate experience was considered to be the most reasonable length of time for an undergraduate experience, it was recognized that it would be more pofitable for some students if this time were shorter."

Other sections of the proposal are: Students automatically receive two course credits for receiving either 4 or 5 in the Advanced Placement ex'aminations. Students receiving a 3 will be evaluated by the departments at Middlebury.

Students who are in good academic standing be allowed to register for a fifth course for credit, which they may drop at any time without penalty. Currently an average of B or better is required to take a fifth course.

With departmental approval students receive credit for summer courses which receive graduate credit at the institutions at which they are taken when passed by a grade of C-or better. Summer courses on the advanced level would have to be accredited by the Administration Committee.

Students receive one course credit for highly specialized advanced summer work relating to their major field and having prior approval and subsequent evaluation by their major department.

The second proposal is to create a College Scholar Program "to allow the student of demonstrated motivation and a-

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Council On "Campaign GM"

The College Council this week received an explanation of the state of discussion regarding the College's policy on Campaign G. M.

REAP introduced the program, an attempt to procure the election of specified candidates to the Board of Directors of G.M. who will support the "principles of corporate responsibility," by use of the college's stock proxy. Recently, a major bank in Philadelphia decided to support Campaign G.M. with its proxy for one million shares.

A letter from President Armstrong explained that the Financial Committee of the Board of Trustees had discussed this matter in depth and that a statement was forthcoming in the near future.

The Financial Committee seems to be taking this matter, and its larger context of the colleges moral responsibility for its investment policies, seriously, as their discussions extended to three hours.

Jim Douglas and Bill Wood, victors in Young Republicans battle.

18-year-olds Given Rights

Last Friday night Governor Deane C. Davis signed into law a bill to extend all the rights and responsibilities of adulthood to 18-year-olds. This lowering of the legal age of majority, effective as of July 1, will grant younger residents such privileges as the rights to drink, vote, marry, and make contracts. Vermont is the first state in the nation to extend full rights of citizenship to 18-year-olds.

The Senate had voted Friday 22-8 in favor of the bill. At the same time, on a vote of 20-10, the Senate approved a resolution to change the U.S. Constitution to allow 18-year-olds to vote in all elections. Vermont is the nineteenth state to endorse the proposed amendment, which must be passed by thirty-eight states before it can be adopted into the Constitution. Both measures may be quite important to the continuance of this trend on a nationwide level.

Those who opposed the constitutional resolution were primarily concerned that the state was forfeiting its right to decide who could vote in its elections. Opposition to the state rights package was more diverse. One concern was that the state could easily be taken over to "hippies," who some fear will be migrating to the state in large numbers this summer. Representative Arnold L. Tibbits of Plainfield has warned in the Government Operations Committee debate that "Vermont's the one state these people can take over quick and easy... The hills are already laoded with them... We'll be handing the state over to them on a silver platter."

A more concrete concern is that some localities could be dominated by college students who attend schools such as Goddard and Middlebury, where they outnumber the townspeople. Another threat is that large numbers of out-of-state young people will declare residency in order to benefit from lower tuition rates for state residents at the University of Vermont. The constitutionality of the bill was also called into question.

The opposition resorted to proposing amendments in order to impede the bill. They aired five amendments Thursday, including a call for a public referendum and a one-year residency requirement. Any amendment would have effectively killed the bill, for it would have been necessary to send the revised version back to the House for consideration with only one day left in the session. However, a coalition of both Republican and Democratic bill intact and insure its passage.

Mirsky, Frederick, Conant to Speak

Tonight (Thursday, April 22) at 7:30 pm in Proctor Lounge, Jonathan Mirsky, Associate Professor of History and Chinese at Dartmouth College, will speak about "The Second Indochinese War."

Co-Director of Dartmouth's East Asia Language and Area Studies Venter, Mirsky teaches Chinese language, Chin- Southeast Asian History, and is currently engaged in research on American foreign policy in Southeast Asia.

He co-authored "Peace in Vietnam," published in 1966 by Hill and Wang, which has since been translated into French, Spanish, German and Japanese. He is a contributor to "America's Asia" (Pantheon), "Laos: War and Revolution" (Harper and Row), "Crimes of War" (Random Hours) all published in 1971.

He has published articles in The China Quarterly, Journal of the American Oriental Society, The Nation, Ramparts, Commonweal, The New York Review of Books, and the Sunday New York Times. He is also book editor of the Modern Language Associations Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association.

Next Monday, April 26, at 7:30 in Proctor Lounge, REAP is sponsoring a talk by Cynthia Frederick of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars. Miss Frederick will speak about "Recent Developments in South Vietnam." She has written extensively about South Vietnamese politics, particularly the emerging non-communist nationalist and neutralist opposition forces.

On Wednesday, April 28, at 8:30 in Proctor Lounge, REAP will present Dr. Ralph Conant, director of the Institute for Urban Studies at the University of Houston, who will speak on "Nixon's Imperative to Stay in Vietnam."

Dr. Conant, father of Middlebury junior Beverlie Conant, was formerly associate director of the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University. He has just published a book entitled "The Prospects for Revolution," a study of riots, civil disobedience, and insurrection in contemporary America. He is expected to discuss the anti-war movement's adoption of the tactic of civil disobenience in the demonstrations planned for Washington this Spring.

REAP is also continuing to show the documentary film "Time is Running Out" in dorms and fraternity houses around campus.

The film which deals with the war, the People's Peace Treaty, and the Mayday demonstrations in Washington will be shown tonight at 10:30 in the New Dorm Lounge. Residents of Hadley, Milliken, and Pearsons are invited to attend along with any other members of the Middlebury community.

New Structure to Streamline Committees

Excepting a provision for elective procedures on the Educational Council, the Faculty passed overwhelmingly the major recommendations of the Governance Report last week. A two-thirds margin was required.

The proposal streamlines the current committee system under four major Councils: the Faculty Council, concerned with tenure and other faculty concerns, composed of six elected faculty, three tenured and three untenured. This Council will also act as a Committee on Committees, appointing faculty representatives to all but the Educational Council.

The Educational Council will oversee all matters of curricular planning and courses approval, including the Winter Term. It is composed of the President or his designate, the Dean of the Faculty, eight faculty members and four students.

The Community Council will oversee matters in the non-academic life of the College. It is the successor to the College Council. It is composed of two members of the administrations, one of the staff, three members of the faculty and six students.

The Resources Council will involve student and faculty members for the first time in the planning of major College policy. In the past decisions that involve major policy have frequently been made without consultation, and sometimes the decisions themselves were unknown even after they had been implemented. The Council is advisory to the President. Two students and two faculty will sit on this committee with the Academic Vice-President, the Dean of the Faculty, the Dean of the College, Director of Language Schools, Treasurer, Comptroller, and the Chairmen of the four Divisions.

The Faculty amended the Governance Report to add a student and a faculty member to both the Space Committee and the Financial Aid Committee.

The Faculty rejected the idea that the Faculty Council, which is elected by the Faculty, appoint the faculty members to the Educational Council in favor of an elective procedure as yet undecided.

At the last Faculty meeting President Armstrong announced the three-year appointments of Professor Nicholas Clifford as chairman of the Department of History, of Professor Henry Prickitt as chairman of the Division of Humanities, and of Professor David Littlefield as chairman of the Department of English and Drama.

Professors Donald Ballou and Howard Munford have been named as Charles A. Dana Professors, Professor Prickitt as Henry Norman Hudson Professor of English, Professor Robert Pack as Julian W. Abernathy Professor of American Literature, and Professor Littlefield as Philip Battell Stewart and Sarah Frances Cowles Steward Professor of English.

EPC Vote...

Continued from page 1.

bility to define his individual educational goals and assume personal responsibility for attaining them independent of the college's normal curricular requirements."

"A College Scholar is released from all course and departmental requirements in order to allow him, in consultation with a faculty adviser and the (College Scholar) committee, to determine his own course of study."

A College Scholar would be so designated by the College Scholar Committee on the basis of recommendations, academic record, personal interview, and other appropriate information, putting primary emphasis on intellectual initiative "summer work" Students could either be nominated by faculty members or, if they have maintained an academic ranking of College Scholar (three A's or better and no lower than a C), they may nominate themselves.

A limited number of students could be offered tentative designation as College Scholar prior to matriculation on the basis of SAT scores, high school record and recommendations from counselors and teachers They would be reviewed at the end of their freshman year and confirmed or denied the designation.

Concert-Film Series
Saturday, April 24th 8 p.m.
Dana Auditorium
Maysle Brothers SALESMAN
Admission $1.00

Sunday, April 25 8:15 p.m.
Mead Chapel
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HILTON HOTELS

Old Chapel Notes

Registration for the Fall Term 1971-72 will be held on May 7, 1971 in McCullough Gym. Class of 1972 will register from 8am to 11am, Class of 1973 from 11am to 2pm, and Class of 1974 from 2pm to 5pm. Graduate and Special students may register anytime during the day. Students may pick up their registration material from May 3 to May 6 in the Registrar's Office in Voter Hall.
end of article

The Deacon Boardman Peace Prize, income from $2,189.33, is awarded to a member of the junior class submitting the most creditable literary essay of at least 2000 words in favor of peace and in opposition to war as a method for settling international differences. The prize is in memory of Samuel Ward Boardman, Porfessor of Rhetoric and English Literature, 1956-61.

Persons wishing to compete for this prize should submit their entries to the office of the Dean of the College by May 1, 1971.

Freidin on Curriculum..

Continued from page 1

English and American Literature. (I write here from the bias that the specific content of any curriculum or individual course is educationally valuable mostly as a vehicle for helping students acquire general ideas, principles and attitudes of learning. Therefore, if two courses or majors teach the same general ideas, principles, and attitudes, they are redundant. Both are not educationally useful.)

Finally, the requirement that no student take more than fourteen courses in one department is outwardly intended to prevent students from excessively concentrating in one area. This requirement simply does not work, unless one believes that the Spanish language, for example, constitutes a separate area from the French language, or that the study of English literature differs significantly from the study of Russian or American literature. Indeed, one probable unintended characteristic of our curriculum is it disporportionately large emphasis on language and literature—twenty - eight percent of the full-time faculty (exclusive of physical education) teaches either language

But if the curriculum at Middlebury has no clear educational purpose, it is nevertheless not ineffectual. Our curriculum does take the students somewhere, almost regardless of their will. Its destination derives principally from the facts that the curriculum is verbal, instrumental, and cognitive.

Students are expected to learn by listening to, reading, and writing words. Though words are invaluably convenient means for dealing with and acquiring an understanding of abstractions, they are not the only way, nor in some cases the most promising way. Just as students are expected to learn by words, so they are evaluated by the words they write. The curriculum thus acts as a sieve, separating the verbally skilled (who graduate) from the verbally unskilled (who do not,) and as a vehicle for developing students' verbal facility.

The curriculum is instrumental in the sense that like the culture which has bred it is little concerned with ultimate values, with the purpose or meaning of life. It rarely deals directly with what Kenneth Keniston calls the "whys, whats and wherefores of human existence." Like technology, the curriculum is, however, very concerned with the means of life, if not with its meaning. In this spirit, the curriculum—at its best—tries to teach and raise questions about methodology, procedure, and technique (important values to a technological society, which depends upon specialized competences). But this concern with how-to-do-it precludes or denigrates concern with what to do, where to go, why to do it. All of which is not surprising, for merely intellectual reflections of the concerns of the larger society which believes—probably wrongly— its own survival and progress depend on the dismissal of big questions and the development of highly skilled expertise. Indeed, it seems to me that by its concern for the instrumental, rather than final, values the academic world fortifies the status quo far more than it does by its immediate service to powerful interests. One of the greatest failures of the curriculum is its abdication of the study and clarification of questions about social and human purpose.

From the instrumental concerns of the curriculum naturally flow its cognitive biases. Questions of "How to do it?" may be answered by dreams, visions, or communication with divine spirits. In our technological society, however, most persons distrust intuition or revelation; if they are encouraged at all, it is to encourage hypotheses we may validate analytically. In our colleges, as in our society at large, the only respectable means for acquiring accurate, objective, and in our society at large, the only respectable means for acquiring knowledge, for learning how to do something are cognitive. Our curriculum is in consonance with this point of view and accordingly stresses human capacities for cognition—that is for acquiring accurate, objective, and consenually verifiable knowledge—at the expense of human capacities for feelings, impulses, drives, and idealisms. Out of this cognitive bias grow our preoccupations with measurement, comparison, empiricism, and impartiality, all of which are acquired with little countervailing support for our affective capacities. (The last two paragraphs are partly based on ideas and terms set forth in Kenneth Keniston's book The Uncommitted; see especially Chapters 9 and 11.)

In addition to the verbal, instrumental, and cognitive sanctions of the curriculum, it has an additional consequence which stems from the manner it is presented, rather than the substance with which it deals. The curriculum is presented. It inheres in what a variety

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Second Annual Green-Up Day

Vermont's second annual Green-Up Day is scheduled for May 1. Town Manager Dave Crawford - Green-Up county chairman, says Green-Up Day will be pretty much the same as last year, except that all cans will be separated from other trash to be recycled. Teams of at least two people will cover assigned areas, one with a green bag to pick up cans and the other with a beige bag for all other trash. Vermont Beverage Service trucks will take the cans to the Albany recycling plant. Everything else will be disposed of at sanitary landfills.

The Enviromental Quality organization will be coordinating campus participation. They are again offering a keg of beer as a prize to the dorm or fraternity with the highest percentage of participation in Green-Up Day activities. Anyone interested in volunteering their efforts should sign up at the Proctor Information Desk. All volunteers will then receive further information in the mail. On Saturday, May 1, they will report to the high school to be assigned clean-up areas. For further information, contact Frank Pallone at 388-7505.

Summer Jobs To Be Scarce

Summer jobs at the college are much harder to get this year than ever before, according to Ralph Eaton, Assistant Personnel Manager. Mr. Eaton explained that he can see no addition to the ground or paint crews at this point as in past years, and added he has received no requests from department heads for help. However, Mr. Eaton said a greater number of people, including Middlebury students, are looking for campus jobs this year than ever before.

Mr. Eaton said the lack of jobs was not due to any particular austerity move since, as he explained, the college is always on something of an austerity budget. He stated many of the job applicants were simply people who were tired of the city who were coming north in search of the rural, fresh-air environment Middlebury represents.

The best chance for employment as always, said Mr. Eaton, is with the dining and food service.

TO: ALL FRESHMEN, SOPHOMORES & JUNIORS:

I would like very much to accomodate your concerns and interests in a WINTER TERM COURSE next year. If one or several of you have any ideas for a course I might be competent to teach, would you talk to me about how we might develop it for next winter.

JOHN S. FREIDIN
Director of T.E.
Instructor in History
120 Munroe Hall 388-7024

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The Board of Trustees: Structurally Incongruent

by Ted Hobson
Member Governance Committee

Though hundreds of panaceas are offered for the ills of higher education, the idea that colleges and universities might be structurally inadequate to the task of education is rarely suggested. There is, I think, growing evidence that structural inadequacies are at the root of academic failure. Colleges largely reside in a kind of academic bliss, retaining all they can, sloughing off their worst features. The approach to reform is largely negative, one of eliminating the most dismal programs and retaining what's left.

The Governance Committee was Middlebury's answer to accusations of structural inadequacy. Its report was predictable, given the members of the committee, who were chosen for their previous success within the current structure, and was finally, not very exciting. It cleaned up some of the difficulties with the committee system, oiling the present machinery wherever it seemed to be squeaking. The idea that the basis of the College—its charter and Board of Trustees—might be structurally incongruent to the purpose of the institution was never seriously considered.

At the close of its deliberation, the G.C. admitted that its achievements had been essentially in streamlining, and that its report was not going to solve any problems. The search has now been changed from structure to people(as reflected by most of the articles on curriculum in the last issue of the Campus): educational policy is impossible, people finally make the decisions by implementing "policy," and finally then, people will do what they want. Structurally imposed solutions are a disaster, the theory goes. What this amounts to is an acceptance of the present rate of change, a despair in institutional changes, institutional rationales and structural solutions. It is an acceptance of the status quo. Change will happen when it happens, we can neither hasten nor retard it.

Unfortunately people are a reflection and product of the institution's basic structure. Institutional failures are more than a failure of the institution's people, they are failures of the institution, and finally a failure of the institution's structure. Middlebury, a recent entrant to the academic elite (i.e. Weysleyan, Amherst, etc.) is often content to rest on this manifestation of success, without considering its overall success as an educational institution.

I would argue that much of the failure in society's institutions can be traced to their charters. Consider for a moment the Project on Corporate Responsibility, and its primary thrust this year, Campaign G.M. The fact is, G.M. is an eminently successful corporation, in all its aspirations. However G.M.'s purpose in business is not to make cars, it is to make money. This is a fact that is often overlooked. The theme of Campaign G.M. is that the structural basis of General Motors, and all corporations should be broadened in purpose and in constituency, that G.M.'s very purpose as a corporate entity should be questioned, and finally changed. G.M. should be structured not only to make money, but to operate for the public good. What this argument includes, and what many others overlook, is that G.M. is eminently successful. In delaying pollution controls, in disregarding safety in its products it commits no corporate sin. The only corporate sin is to lose money. To alter this fact, to make G.M. operate for the public good, one must not only impose standards of performance from without the industry (i.e. governmental regulation) one must also change the structure of the corporation, set standards from within. The very criteria by which a corporation judges its performance must be changed.

Immersed in its mechanisms, the on-campus constituencies of the College often forget that it too is set up as a corporation, and, for an educational institution, a very strange one at that. It is set up like a business corporation. This is not a fact that the Board of Trustees misses, however. Under the College's charter with the state they are the owners of Middlebury College. The Trustees themselves usually refer to the College as "the Corporation," and they so regard it.

Who are the Trustees? At Middlebury there are twenty people on the Board. Almost all are men, and almost all have distinguished themselves in the Vermont world of business. They represent no public interest, nor do they represent the college constituencies. They represent themselves. Dean O'Brien is fond of telling stories of "liberal trustees," but there does not seem to be any such animal. The trustees are a very conservative, narrow-base group, successful in the status quo, and thus with a large stake in its preservation. Twelve of the Trustees are elected for life, further enhancing their power. They have regularly excluded members of minority groups both from their own numbers as well as from the college presidencies. Middlebury's Board finally has one black. It also has three women. Members are chosen from a narrow economic class, accomplished in the art of accumulation. Multiplied nation-wide, this class holds the reins of higher education. Finally, the Trustees are self-perpetuating, choosing their own successors.

If the honorary degrees, which are awarded by the Board, are any indication of political leanings, then the Board is hardly enlightened in its politics. Honorary degrees, in the past have been given to Lady Bird Johnson and Deane C. Davis, currently governor of Vermont. This year they balked at giving an honorary degree to distinguished Washington journalist I.F. Stone after he was recommended by a student-faculty-trustee committee.

The chairman and President of the Corporation, L. Douglas Meredith, is President of Central Vermont Public Service. Vice-chairman of the Board is Arnold R. LaForce. He is President and Director of Central Securities Corporation. The Board also includes the following: a physician, a former President of Vermont Marble, the President of Chittenden Trust, the former chairman of Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advosors, the President of Prospect Reality, Inc., the merchandising manager of Lincoln-Mercury Division, the former president of Associated Merchandising Corp., the Director of American Home Assurance Co., et cetera, including three people, from academia, the Study Counselor at Vassar College and the Academic Dean at Norwalk Community College.

The members of the Board are from business, to the virtual exclusion of other occupations. Only three are involved in education in any fashion. If they are holding a "public trust," as some would argue, they do not represent the public. They represent corporate America, the status quo. A self-perpetuating body, they have created an education institution which conserves itself within, and as a major social force, the society without.

As one faculty member of the Governance Committee pointed out, Middlebury's trustees are not such giants that they can only mail us checks

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, APRIL 18, 1971

REPORT ASSAILS YALE'S TRUSTEES

Study Panel Contends Group Perpetuates Own Society

By M. S. HANDLER

The Yale University Study Commission on Governance has criticized the trustees of the Yale Corporation as a self-perpetuating group based on class and drawn from a "narrow stratum of society".

"A problem with the corporation [19 trustees]," the commission said, "has been its homogeneity and its consequent intimacy with some parts of society to the near exclusion of others."

The 60-member commission was established in January, 1970, by Kingman Brewster the university's president, to study governance of the school. The panel included 24 faculty members, five nonfaculty employes, 24 students, two alumni and five others appointed by Mr. Brewster. The report, recently completed, is being distributed on the campus and has the imprimateur of the university.

'A Narrow Stratum'

"The successor trustees [10] who perpetuate themselves by electing their own replacements—and, even more so, the trustees elected by the alumni—have been drawn overwhelmingly from a narrow stratum of society," the commission reported. "Women, blacks, Jews, Catholics, and other persons, however distinguished, who are not members of the more favored groups in society have only recently begun to take seats on the corporation," the study continued.

The 10 successor trustees have been electing their own successors since 1701, and have served until retirement at the age of 68.

As a result of the commission's recommendation, the corporation recently decided that the terms of the successor trustees will be limited to 12 years, but the decision does not affect those currently in office.

Method Is Criticized

In addition to the university president and the successor trustees, the Yale Corporation includes six alumni elected for terms of six years, and two ex-officio members, the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut.

In its criticism of the traditional method of selecting successor trustees, the commission's report said:

"Judging by the character of the group, they must have repeatedly cut the search process short by turning to men sufficiently close to them in social origin, career, age, school affiliation, and the like to make the choice of successor fairly easy.

"It also appears that, in selecting successors, the successor trustees have undervalued the importance of scientific, educational and research leadership in favor of financial, business and administrative leadership.

"Or they have simply been so impressed with the responsibilities of managing Yale's assets that they have not attended to recruiting successors of suficiently diverse other qualifications."

Comparison Drawn

Describing universities as "reluctant revolutionists," the commission's report also observed:

"Considering how overwhelming a proportion of intellectuals are gathered in universities, it has always been puzzling why so few great intellectual achievements spring from them.

"It is even more puzzling that so few come from American universities by comparison with European universities of much smaller faculties and student populations."

The commission's report said there was a "great deal of truth" in the allegations of radical critics that universities are class institutions with complacent and self-indulgent faculties that forget to ask fundamental questions.

The commission said, in describing Yale, that one did not need to hold to a Marxian concept of social class to recognize a great deal of truth in radical critics' allegations of classism and complecency in Universities

Faculty Also Assailed

"No better example can be found than its institutional and scholarly neglect of blacks until recent years," the report said.

The commission said that Yale had to be prodded to seek and find black students. The faculty as well as the corporation, the commission said, was to blame because almost no one was interested in teaching and researching the field.

"One of the most striking evidences of university complacency," the report continued, "is the tendency of scholars in applied social science to busy themselves with social problems at least a decade too late."

Public concern, the commission said, drove the social scientists to study the problems of the urban black just as economists had begun to study economic development only after the end of the colonial system in Europe's overseas colonies.

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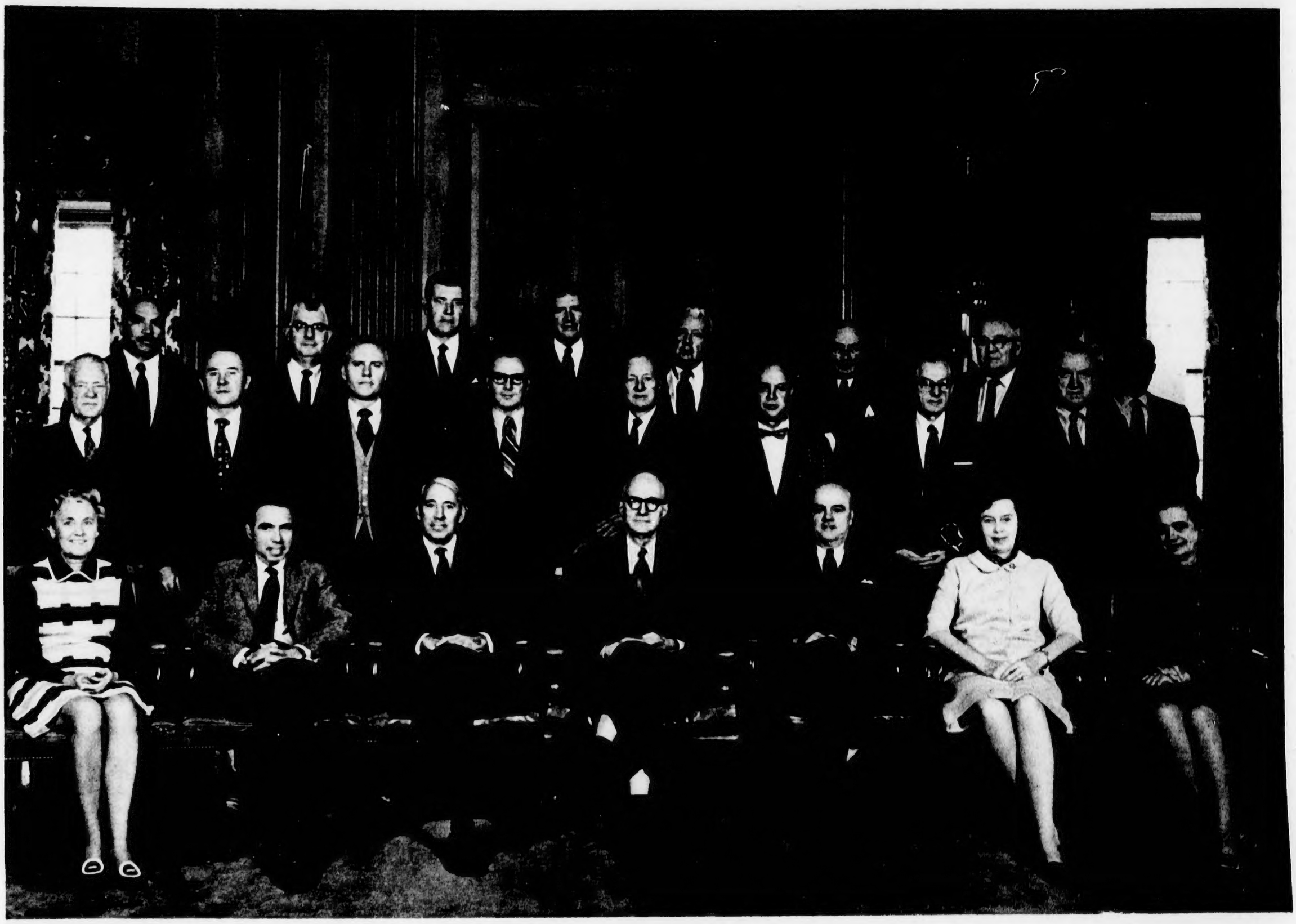

Middlebury College Board of Trustees

continued from page 4

and visit once a year, but rather, "they come down and check to see if we've mowed the lawns." What the Trustees actually do has usually not been very well explained. The general impression is that they don't do much of anything, that they are functionaries, vestiges of another era. Unfortunately this is not the case. Even those who understand the duties of the Trustees often miss the importance of their responsibilities.

The Boards' purview extends to every corner and aspect of the College. Legally, the Trustees approve all appointments and dismissals, as well as any major policy of instructional change. The Board chooses and sustains the President, and approves his appointments. Their power, President Armstrong told the Governance Committee, is "not a reserve authority but the ultimate authority." They are not a group of functionaries who rubber stamp decisions, they are the people who make the decisions, and to whom any employee of the College is finally responsible. They do not regard themselves as functionaries, nor do they act as functionaries.

The Governance Report seems to have included only their financial responsibilities in their understanding of the Trustees. The Report argued that the Board's "'trust is essentially one of looking to the growth and maintenance of the financial and physical corpus of the institution and overseeing its broad developmental policies,'" and not the specifics of "'academic appointments, and promotions, the curriculum, or the details of student affairs.'" The verbs are those of viewing, of passive sight; the Trustees "look" at the College. Yet the very functions which the report describes are some of the most far-reaching and important responsibilities, the functions which finally determine the shape and goals of the institution. It is, I submit, impossible to differentiate between "the growth and maintenance of the financial and physical corpus" and academic policy, the direction of the curriculum, or even student affairs. For the "details," they, like all good Boards of directors, have hired an administration. The Trustees are not mere guardians of the corporate treasury, they are the corporation. By their very nature they determine institutional goals, through their direct policy decisions they implement these goals, and through their administration they acheive their goal.

Another myth that would relegate the Trustees to the bane of academic irrelevance is that the President is a figurehead who only raises money, that the real power exists elsewhere, among the lower administration (who, incidentally, are his appointees) and faculty. This is a myth prevalent among students, not faculty. Virtually all faculty posts (heads of departments, divisions, etc.) are appointed by the President. These decisions directly determine the nature of the faculty through hiring. The three most powerful administrators, the Governance Committee determined, are President Armstrong, Academic Vice-President Paul Cubeta and College Treasurer Carroll Ricket. These are the positions that recommend to the Trustees on virtually every important policy decision within the College. and largely, through their decisions, determine WHO the College is in terms of people. They define institutional standards.

Thus the Board of Trustees, through its very nature, through its direct decisions and through its administration has the highest authority within the College. The College is largely a reflection of the Trustees and their decisions. The Trustees have not "withdrawn," have not been "kicked upstairs," "farmed out," "rendered impotent," or any other such wishful thinking.

The decisions of the Board cannot be relegated to the "solely financial," but encompass the broadest and most difficult decisions of the institution. Though they have no other credentials except successful monetary accumulation and management, they cannot be mere financial technicians but should be the wisest, the most broadly and incisively informed constituency of the College. Arguments that stress their "withdrawal" from the College would ignore the basic question of the Board's legitimacy in running an educational institution and their competence for that purpose. The answer is a very short one. Basically, the Board has no competence in the field of education.

Their response to questioning, toward free inquiry, is shown by the secretive manner in which they conduct their meetings. The Trustees, as one person stated in their defense, are heads of corporations in the height of careers in which their decisions are law. Thus it is not surprising, when addressing a question to a trustee to have the question regarded as a threat.

There is nothing on the record of virtually all the Trustees to show that they have any competence for making the decisions that they are making. To borrow a phrase from the President's original letter to the Governance Committee, their role does not fit their competence.

Continued on page 7

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Referendum on Student Government Changes

A student referendum has been scheduled for Monday and Tuesday, April 26 and 27, to vote on the proposed changes in student government. The proposal is to elect student representatives by department. Each department will establish a "student advisory council." The changes are designed to involve student government more in educational issues. The following is the proposal to be voted. It will not appear on the ballots:

(1) All academic departments shall establish a student advisory council. The council shall advise the faculty on matters of appointment of new faculty and curricular changes and such other matters as may be brought ot it by the chairman of the department.

(2) Composition: the faculty in consultation with majors of the individual departments shall determine the size, composition and method of selection of the student advisory committee. At least one member, however, shall be elected in the Fall of the year, prior to October 1, by a general vote of the sophomore, junior and may vote in whichever department. Joint Majors and College Scholars may vote in whichever department they prefer. The previous year's council shall determine the appropriate method of nomination and election and it shall be the responsibility of the departmental chairman to see that these elections are held. (For the initial year, the chairman of the department shall hold a general meeting of all majors to determine procedures.)

(3) Chairman of the advisory committee: the student elected as specified above shall be the chairman of the student advisory committee. As chairman he shall be responsible for calling two general meetings of student majors, one in Winter term and the other in the Spring term. He may call other meetings at any time he desires and must call a meeting on the request of any five students in the department or the chairman of the department.

(a) If the position of student chairman becomes vacant for any reason, it shall be the responsibility of the chairman of the department to see that new elections are held.

(1) Aim: a general student advisory group with direct responsibility of appointment to joint student-faculty councils and committees, power to determine allocation of student activities fees and to authorize activities eligible for receiving funds. The Forum may draft such by-laws for carrying forth these responsibilities as it deems fit. Such By-laws will be published along wth this general constitution in the College Handbook.

(2) Membership: The chairmen of the various departmental student advisory groups shall be members of Student Forum ex officio.

(a) At-large members: a number of at large members from the sophomore, junior and senior classes may be chosen in a general election to be held not later than October 1 of each academic year. The number of such members shall not exceed 10. Students wishing to run as at-large members shall submit their name to the Dean of Students. Students may submit statements of qualification or interests for publication prior to the election. The Judicial Council shall be responsible for running elections and shall determine the time and manner of election. No student shall be declared elected unless he receives at least 100 votes; of those receiving 100 votes, the 10 with the most votes shall be declared elected in order.

(b) Freshmen shall select members to the Forum by dormitory no later than November 1 of the Fall term. The Junior Fellows and Junior Counselors shall be responsible for running the Freshman elections. Freshmen members shall have all the rights of any member of the Forum.

(c) All members serve for academic year and are eligible for re-election.

(3) Duties: The Forum shall be responsible either as a whole or through appropriately constituted sub-committees for the appointment of all students to joint faculty-student councils and committees or sub-committees.

(a) Members of the Student Forum are eligible for appointment to all such councils and committees. Terms of appointment are for one academic year. The Forum shall take means, however, to bring to the attention of the general student body committee and council positions and shall consider and act on all requests for appointment from any student. The Forum may establish whatever means it deems appropriate for making appointments. The Forum may actively seek out students not in the Forum or requesting appointment when it is judged that they would bring particular qualifications to a position.

(b) Students may serve on no more than two councils or committees. The Forum should take positive steps to broaden student participation through use of its appointive power so that a fair balance may be maintained in representative participation by the student body in college affairs. Specifically, the Forum should look to matters of representation and important special interest groups on campus.

(c) The Forum holds the power of recall over any student appointed to councils and committees. Such action shall be by a two-thirds vote to members present and voting. Motion for recall must be submitted at one meeting and acted on at another no sooner than three days later.

(4) Officers: The Student Forum shall elect a chairman and a vice-chairman from among its members. There shall also be a treasurer and a secretary appointed by the chairman with the concurrence of the Fourm. These officers need not be members of the Forum.

(a) The chairman of the Student Forum shall serve on the Community Council ex officio and shall be vice-chairman of that Council. At least two other Forum members shall serve on the Community Council.

(b) At least one student members of the Resources Council shall be a member of the Student Forum.

(c) At least two student members of the Educational Council chall be members of the Student Forum.

(d) All students not members of Forum who are appointed to councils and commitees shall attend general meetings of the Forum with the right to speak.

(5) Meetings: The Forum shall meet on the request of the student chairman, the Dean of the College, the President of the College, or the request of any five members.

The Forum shall have the following regular meetings:

(i) Election meeting: no later than the first week in October for election of Forum officers and appointment of students to councils and committees.

(ii) Fall term meeting: at a time designated by the President of the College to discuss general College matters with the principle officers of administration.

(iii) Spring meeting: to approve budgets of organizations supported by the Student Activities Fee.

(6) Relation of Forum to other College Juridsictions:

(i) The Forum shall formulate an opinion on any matter referred to it by the President of the College or the Dean of the College on behalf of Faculty, one of the College Councils, the Administration or the Board of Trustees.

The Forum may forward recommendations as it deems appropriate through the appropriate officer to any of the above jurisdictions.

(ii) The Community Council assumes all responsibilities currently designated for the College Council and such new duties as shall be determined by action on the proposals of the special committee on College Governance.

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Middlebury's Board of Directors

Continued from page 5

tell students. Conversely, students have little effect upon it; they do not significantly alter what they are told. I am not here concerned with the fact that students have little influence over the content of their courses; if the students planned or requested their courses, and they continued to be taught as they presently are, the curriculum would not in this respect be appreciably different.

Because the curriculum is presented —regardless of who the presenting authorities are— it has the effect of making students most comfortable with presentations; it fosters passivity. Not only do students learn to keep quiet, take notes, and repeat what they are told, but more important they learn attitudes of acquisence, credulity, and docility. The sanctions of our methods of presenting the curriculum are heavily weighted against students' taking the initiative for seeking knowledge, raising questions, or advocating their own positions. For many teachers this is as it should be, for they think college students cannot ask fruitful questions, cannot intelligently choose what is most worth knowing, and will not sustain their searches for understanding. These arguments fail to take account of the importance for learning of inquisitive attitudes. While the Middlebury graduate may theoretically be more capable of sellecting wisely what is worth studying or of framing an effective question than is the Middlebury Freshman, the graduate so often lacks the will to do either that the advantages of his capabilities are moot.

What then is wrong with the curriculum at Middlebury is wrong with American colleges: they lack purpose. As a result, students grow up to be alumni. Though this article is not concerned with posing an alternative to our curriculum or even to suggesting directions in which it ought to move, it seems to me that Middlebury and probably all he sister colleges ought to put aside their instrumental values when they consider curricular reforms and instead ask why, whether, and wherefore. We might also put some of our zeal for cognition into gathering and analyzing evidence about our students and the effects the College has upon them. We might unlease our capacities for revelation and dreams in order to pose some goals for our activities. And we might then harness our talent with words to write a curriculum that is purposeful, and still controversial.

The effect of the Trustees governing in an area where they have no ability has been a profoundly conservative one, both within the social structure of society, and within the College. In the larger society, one need only look at the history of the elite institutions of higher education which have traditionally reserved their diplomas for the sons of the old elite, turning out new leaders who look and act like the old leaders. In society, education has been a very conservative force.

Within the institution itself, the effect has been unhealthy as well. The conservation of Middlebury and its education style is largely consioered sufficient as an institutional goal. If the endowment seems to be growing modestly and we've gathered a few top academic names, put up a few new buildings, then we've performed our educational role. Since Middlebury is not expected to turn a profit, simple fiscal and academic preservation is considered an adequate goal. What becomes lost in all of this is the actual educational purpose, education process and educational effect

Perhaps the Trustees' greatest effect, finally is in the goal of the institution, a goal that seems to pervade the institution in its unstated way. What I am saying, something that certainly has been said before, is that a lot of people are here for the wrong reasons, most particularly the faculty. "Education" has become whatever we are doing, and because applications have been going up, and Middlebury has been climbing on the academic social-scale, no one need worry. Education is like cultivating crops. We till in a sort of academic bliss, basking in our own wisdom, cozy and content. The College's educational goals are satisfied by our mere existence.

Quality Environment:Legislative Setback

The Enviromental Quality lobby suffered a major setback when the Vermont Legislature acted upon its proposed legislation. An abortion bill never got off the ground, while a ban on the use of non-returnable bottles was amended and put off. Only the snowmobile proposal passed.

Despite these discouragements, EQ has planned a full schedule of activity for the remaining weeks of school. The college's ecology group is celebrating Arbor Day (April 30) by planting trees around campus. Rows of fir trees will be planted along the walk from Pearsons to the SDU's, and two large King Crimson maples in front of the new dorms.

A field trip to inspect the experiment in billboard and sign restriction in Windham County is planned for Monday, April 26. The law was originaly passed for the entire state but later challenged by the federal government. The effects of the year old policy, crucial to its statewide adoption, will be examined on a tour with county officials. Interested persons should contact John Center, box C778.

The most important upcoming event is a combined meeting of area enviromental organizations, which will include EQ, ZPG, Action for a Better Community, the High school's Students Concerned for the Environment, the Garden Club, the Addison Audubon Society, and the Ripton Enviromental Center. The main purpose of the meeting will be to discuss proposals for a consolidated environmental organization to serve the entire Middlebury community.

Town Manager Dave Crawford will discuss Green-Up Day; and local ordinances to ban pesticides, phosphate detergents, and non-returnable bottles will be proposed. The meeting will feature a movie on the population crisis, "The Time of Man," and is set for Wednesday, April 28, at 7:30 pm in the basement of the Congregational Church.
end of article.

Room Draw Ecumenicism Marks New Millennium

After the confusion of the past few years concerning room draw, the deans have finally arrived at the solution to the room draw problem. In the past the methods have been varied and imaginative. Some of the more popular and successful systems have been:
1. Drawing in alphabetical order without regard to sex.
2. Drawing by sex without regard to alphabetical order.
3. Drawing by class (this method was discontinued years ago as being too equitable.)

Two new exciting proposals were considered for this year. The first entailed lining up the entire student body on the green in town and racing up the hill at the start of a gun to the desired room. But after considering the difficulties of conducting time trials for establishing handicaps the deans turned to the next proposal.

This second system simply involved adding the height (in inches) and the weight of each student, dividing the total by his academic average from his first semester freshman year, and selecting rooms from the highest totals to the lowest. Couples planning to room together would be allowed to combine their variables, and any totals which came out the same would be decided by the toss of a coin. The two problems with the method were that the deans had difficulty making the necessary calculations, and the system seemed to favor the more athletically minded students. As a result the deans struck upon the method to be used for this year.

Room draw for 1971-72 will be conducted on the basis of religion, the oldest sects choosing first and the more modern last. Persons with no religious affiliations will live in Hillcrest. Subsequent to the announcement of procedure the Office of the Deans was flooded with cards designating the various faiths of the students. The problems of the system are being worked on now.

There was an immediate response from fraternity members identifying themselves with ancient Greek cults, but these were far outrun by the Confucianists, Hindus, Buddhists, and Orthodox Hedonists, the last being recognized as civilization's most ancient form of worship. Surprisingly, in all the college there are only eighteen Protestants, eleven Jews, eight Roman Catholics, and three of the Bahai persuasion. In view of this fact Chaplin Scott has been relieved of his duties and henceforth the athletic department will conduct all religious services.

Douglas Elected

Continued from page 1

isement of the 26,000 18-20 year olds in Vermont and the need of the YR's to bring these new voters into the Republican Party before the elections in 1972.

Recently, the YR's in Vermont has been very ineffective and almost non-existence' Part of this has been due to the lack of leadership offered by 1969-71 Chairman Bud Palmer, a dull, lack-luster manwhich, in his 15-minute speech last Saturday revealed that he knows little about politics and organization.

Nevertheless, Young Republicanism has not been dead over the last two years. Particularly promising for the YR's has been the work of four Midd students, Jim Douglas, Bill Wood, Bill Porter and Noel Ferris. These four made a visit to Washington last fall and also campaigned for Republican candidates in Burlington last October. This action, as well as Wood's and Douglas' candidacies, has created some interest, admittedly small, in the YR's on campus.

It is hoped by the newly elected officers that such party interest will be translated into action during the next year and a half before and during the 1972 elections. However, it seems that much of the work will have to be done by a small number of the YR's, as several of the students present at the convention seemed to have little interest in promoting the ideals of the Republican Party.

Group to Re-name Niggerhead Mt.

A group of students, staff, and faculty of Goddard College have organized a committee to change the name of Niggerhead Mountain.

The students, black, nonwhite, and white, object to the name of a Mountain in Marshfield, Vermont, which they feel is blatantly racist, and should be changed.

They are angered by the State Library Board's failure to approve a petition to change the name in 1966, and the arguments of Vermonters that the name is a "part of the local color." The committee cites the refusal of the Federal Government to print the name on their maps as an example of responsible action.

In a press release, the committee reminds Vermonters that 120 years ago, they defied tradition and law to help fugitive blacks to freedom in Canade.

They plan to contact colleges and Universities in Vermont in an attempt to build support for the movement to "Ban Niggerhead". Copies of their petition for the change are available for reading and signing at Proctor Information Desk

Send your letter to the Local Issues Committee-Task Force on the Environment, Department of Mission, Vermont Conference of the United Church of Christ, 285 Maple Street, Burlington, Vermont 05401.

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Making A People's Peace: Mayday and Middlebury

Next Monday and Tuesday, students, faculty and staff members at Middlebury will be invited to participate in a community referendum on the People's Peace Treaty. The Treaty—described at length in this issue—is the focus of nationwide anti-war activity this Spring. It is being circulated as a petition and proposed as a referendum issue on campuses and in communities across the country. Within the next few weeks, it will be taken to Washington where intensive lobbying will be conducted among federal office workers and officials. Finally on May 5, the Treaty will be presented to Congress at the conclusion of a major campaign of civil disobedience in the federal section of the capital.

For us at Middlebury and for all Americans, the Peace Treaty is a means of disassociating ourselves from America's continuing war in Indochina—a war fought in our name against people who are not our enemy. The Treaty is not another two or three sentence end-the-war petition nor does it support a specific piece of anti-war legislation. It is an unofficial document that nevertheless outlines the conditions for peace that do exist; its terms provide the only basis for a just and honorable settlement and, if properly explained are no doubt acceptable to the overwhelming majority of Americans who favor an end to the war.

The Treaty offers these people a clear alternative to the endless-war policy of Vietnamization; as the Nixon strategy continues to falter, the task of educating them will become increasingly important. It will become clear that the only way to stop the fighting, secure the return of American POW's, and ensure the safety of troops remaining in Vietnam is to set a date for total withdrawal It will become clear that the only way to end American involvement in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese is to withdraw support from the present Saigon regime and permit the creation of representative government willing to come to an accomodation with the NLF and the North Vietnamese. The South Vietnamese too are tired of this war—more so than Americans will ever know—and many non-communist and neutralist opposition groups have already endorsed a position similar to that of the Peace Treaty

When a College community like Middlebury ratifies the Treaty, it is doing more than making another collective statement against the war. It is, in effect, taking itself out of the war and committing itself to the implementation of the Treaty by whatever means are deemed appropriate. For some people here, this will mean participating on Saturday in yet another one-day mass march and rally in Washington. Others may wish to join the People's Lobby next week or the student-faculty-administration delegation that will meet with Senators Aiken and Prouty and Representative Stafford the week after that. The largest and best organized student contingent will be in the capital for MayDay. At that time, Middlebury people and thousands of others will engage in acts of civil disobedience aimed at disrupting the normal functions of the federal government.

The non-violent direct action planned for May 3,4, and 5 represents both an escalation of the techniques of antiwar protest and a return to the tactics of the early civil rights movement. It represents a move from dissent to active resistance, hopefully on a wide scale. There are risks involved, of course, but at this point in the struggle against the war both here and in Vietnam, these risks are clearly justifiable. The legal mass mobilizations of the past have outlived their usefulness; it is time to go beyond them. Congress has proved unwilling and unable to legislate an end to the war by 1971 and even by 1972. The House and Senate Democratic caucuses have voted only for a pull-out by the end of this session (January, 1973); Hatfield-McGovern is thus doomed to fail again.

Two more years of death, destruction, and suffering in Indochina is simply unacceptable. Conventional lobbying efforts are simply not enough. The aim of Mayday is to raise the domestic costs of the war, making it more difficult for the Nixon Administration to pursue its present policy—to stop "business as usual" in the Capital by confronting official Washington with what Daniel Berrigan has called "a solid wall of conscience."

Civil disobedience on the scale anticipated is not to be taken lightly or undertaken in a spirit of frivolity. People going to Washington for the MayDay demonstrations expect to be arrested and perhaps gassed or beaten. Every effort is being made to keep the actions peaceful and disciplined. Members of the Middlebury Community who do not feel they can participate, are asked to support the MayDay contingent by contributing to its bail fund.

S.E.

Pursuit of Loneliness: An American Paradox

by Mike Reed

The second and final volume of Alexis de Tocqueville's reflections upon American politics, thought, and society, entitled Democracy in America, was published in 1840. Included within this second volume is a chapter called, "Why The Americans Are So Restless In The Midst Of Their Prosperity." I quote from this chapter:

> "In America I saw the freest and most enlightened men placed in the happiest circumstances that the world affords; it seemed to me as if a cloud habitually hung upon their brow, and I thought them serious and almost sad, even in their pleasures."

Although Tocqueville was often optimistic about the American experience, the gloom and sad, worried eyes which he observed in this country in turn troubled him, too. How was one to explain this American paradox of unhappiness surrounded by profuse and undeniable geographic and political good fortune?

Tocqueville placed much of the blame upon the American citizenry's reverence for transient material possessions. American success, then as now, was very often equated with tangible, earthly prosperity, and there existed a virtually endless array of Joneses for any given American to frantically try and keep up with. The American Rat Race began long before the 1960's: once begun, such a secularized process of grubbing and scurrying about would likely never end as long as an individual's paltry life held out.

Yet think of all of the fears, complexes, ulcers, and sleepless nights which such an existence would tend to induce. Such sober, energetic competetiveness has a way of grinding and wearing down to a frazzled and spiritually listless bone. Were Americans even capable of slowing down for a while in order to sensitively savor and enjoy the fruits of their labors and to perhaps even meditate upon the inherent quality and worthiness of those very same fruits and labors? "A native of the United Sates clings to this world's goods as if he were certain never to die... He clutches everything, he holds nothing fast.."

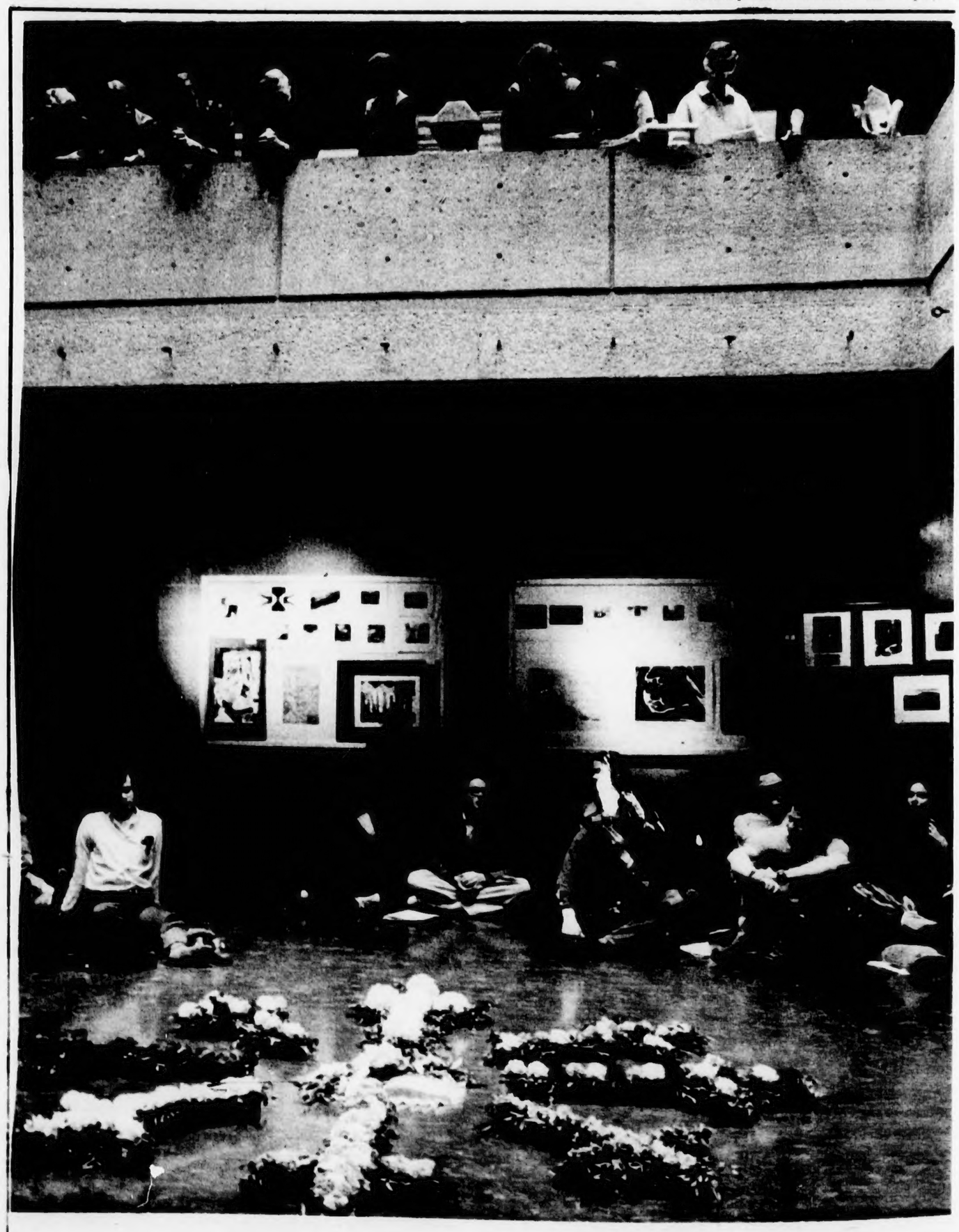
Philip Slater is a contemporary of ours, and he, like Tocqueville, has observed and attempted to theorize about the essence of American life. But whereas Alexis de Tocqueville was an optimist with reservations, Mr. Slater is a scornful pessimist with extremely ambitious hopes for the future. In his book, The Pursuit of Loneliness, he seeks to explain and to offer warning and direction for what he sees to be America's grave and present cultural crisis.

> "My purpose in writing this book is to reach some understanding of the social and psychological forces that are pulling our society apart. I want to talk not about what happens to people but about what people do—to themselves, to each other."

He declares that his book will primarily center around middle-class life. America's contemporary cultural crisis is in his eyes chiefly a crisis created by and most intensely suffered by members of that middle-class.

Philip Slater has succeeded in writing a book which is embarrassingly cutting and to the point. He sees Americans as being above all an insecure and deeply frustrated people. We have managed to immerse ourselves in a dangerous cultural dilemma principally because we have long attempted to disregard certain basic human needs and desires. Among these are three in particular: the desire for community, the desire for engagement, and the desire for dependence.

There are certain distinct villains in Mr. Slater's book, and foremost among these is what he terms America's insistence upon competetive individualism as its primary moral guideline. Throughout their history Americans have grown



MIDDLEBURY CAMPUS

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PEOPLES PEACE TREATY SPECIAL

There was a time, years ago now, when the U.S. government used to talk about "winning the hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese people away from the Viet Cong. No one in Washington talks about that anymore. American policymakers like Henry Kissinger now concede that the Viet Cong have tremendous popular support in the countryside and that the generals in Saigon who make up "our side" have almost none. (See his article in *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1969, written just before he became Nixon's foreign policy advisor). More than that, the U.S. doesn't expect that situation to change: the problem has now become how to drive the rural population out of the countryside altogether, and into the cities where they can be more easily controlled by military force. There is no need to argue any longer about whether or not the Viet Cong have the support of the people. When the U.S. has been forced to resort to massive bombing by B-52's and F-104's in order to force people out of Viet Cong controlled areas and into the cities that are still under the rule of our generals, it is obvious which side the people of the Vietnamese countryside are on.

But it's not just the countryside that's against us now. Until last year, Saigon at least was regarded as the one safe bastion of pro-U.S. sentiment in South Vietnam. Since last May, however, even Saigon has become a political battlefield. After the invasion of Cambodia last spring, thousands of students, Bhuddists, workers, women and even disabled war veterans struck and demonstrated to demand an end to the war and the immediate withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam. This new peace movement has been steadily growing since last May, forcing Thieu and Ky to jail tens of thousands of people in an attempt to repress it. The people of Saigon are not all for the NLF, but even those who oppose the NLF believe that it will be possible to work with the communists to build a truly representative government. If it wasn't for the American military presence in Vietnam, peace would have broken out already.

NIXON'S PROBLEM

To fight a war you need two sides. The crux of Nixon's problem in Vietnam is that one side--his--has almost ceased to exist. Even within the Saigon government itself, the CIA reports that there are roughly 30,000 NLF sympathizers. The war government of Thieu and Ky would disappear like a burst bubble the moment that the United States stopped supporting it. In order to mollify public opinion in the U.S., Nixon has to try to convince the American people that he's ending the American involvement in Vietnam: every speech and official statement out of the White House nowadays talks about "disengagement" and "withdrawal." The trouble is that if the Vietnamese people also thought that Nixon really planned to withdraw all American forces from their country, they would overthrow the Saigon government immediately. So while Nixon has to make us think that he's getting out, at the same time he's got to make sure that the South Vietnamese people understand that he's actually going to stay in Vietnam for a very long time to come.

All of that means that Nixon's in a very tight spot. His strategy for getting out of it has so far been based on three points:

1) Gradual reduction of U.S. ground forces in Vietnam to somewhere between 100,000 and 200,000 men. These forces will have to stay there pretty much forever to protect "our" regime in Saigon from its own people.

2) Forcing the Saigon Army to take on more and more of the fighting and casualties. This enables Nixon to convince Americans that the war's really over, since it's the Vietnamese instead of our GI's who are getting mutilated and killed.

3) Stepping up the already massive bombing of all of Indochina in the hope that the Indochinese peoples will decide to give up.

In November, 1969, when Nixon began to implement this three-part strategy, the big question was whether or not the Saigon Army (ARVN) would be able to take over the fighting from the Americans. Whether they could or not, Nixon didn't have much choice but to try to make them do it, since the American troops in the field were beginning to refuse to go on search-and-destroy missions, and meanwhile millions of Americans were in the streets in huge Moratorium demonstrations demanding an end to the war.

Well, it's turned out, of course, that the ARVN can't or won't fight very well. After sheltering the ARVN troops for months, the U.S. Command has finally poured tens of thousands of them into Laos. During the first few days of that offensive, the South Vietnamese were refusing th advance any further into Laos; meanwhile American helicopter pilots were coming back from ferrying ARVN troops into Laos with pathetic stories about how they had had to forcibly push the terrified South Vietnamese soldiers out of their helicopters when they arrived at the front. Medivac (medical evacuation) helicopters were unable to take off with wounded because ARVN Green Berets were clinging to the doors and landing skids.

It's not too hard to put an army of forced conscripts together--Thieu and the rest of his generals have many millions of U.S. dollars to spend on wages, clothing, food and shoes for their troops, and they also have the power to force young men into their army on pain of imprisonment or even death. But while Thieu has been able to assemble, through terror and through bribery, a huge mass of soldiers--well over a million now--he just can't make them fight. By government admission, moreover, the rate of desertion is over 100,000 every year.

The failure of Vietnamization means that Nixon has to place even more emphasis on the massive bombing of all of Indochina. In theory, he could reverse the troop withdrawals and start using more American GI's in combat roles. But the American people might not tolerate that, particularly after Nixon's been promising for two years that he's committed to a policy of withdrawal and of reducing American casualties. In a recent Gallup poll, 73% of the American people wanted the date set for total withdrawal to be December, 1971. What is more, anti-war sentiment and lack of morale within the American Army appears to have become so widespread that by now the government can no longer depend on troops who understand that the war is wrong. Anyone who's come back from Vietnam during the past year or two has stories about how American soldiers are using grenades to "frag" commanding officers who are too eager to start looking for Viet Cong. "Shamming"--fake search-and-destroy missions on which GI's spend their time trying to avoid the enemy--is a universally employed tactic. Even magazines like *Newsweek* and *Time* are full of articles about the widespread use of drugs in Vietnam, and their reporters are writing back that American enlisted men in Vietnam have more respect for the Viet Cong than they do for their own commanding officers, and their ARVN allies. An army like that just isn't going to be of much to Nixon as he tries to figure out how to "win" the war.

AIR POWER

So Nixon doesn't really have the option of escalating the war on the ground. That leaves air power. Ten years of war have left the American government with no alternatives to complete withdrawal except one--escalation of the bombing throughout Indochina.

Of course the U.S. bombed North Vietnam for nearly four years, destroying most of the country outside of Hanoi, and still the North Vietnamese didn't give up. But as Daniel Ellsberg, a former White House advisor on Vietnam and Pentagon official points out in a March issue of the *N.Y. Review of Books*, that Nixon believes that the bombing of North Vietnam would have been successful in forcing some kind of surrender if only it had been even more

Continued on Back Page

THE PEOPLES' PEACE TREATY

POINT 1.

This point is really the crux of the treaty. All other points are dependent upon it. The position of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (the NLF, "VC") at Paris has long been that the U.S. must set that date before other issues can be resolved. Contrast this to Nixon's cease fire proposal of last fall. He proposed that "all armed forces throughout Indochina cease firing their weapons and remain in the positions they now hold." To ask the NLF to accept this proposal with over 300,000 foreign troops still in their country is to ask them to surrender large areas of their country to what they see as an invading army. It would allow an American re-escalation at any time. U.S. forces would defend the Saigon government as it sought out and crushed all those who opposed its dictatorial policies.

Once before, the Vietnamese agreed to a cease-fire, only to be betrayed. In Geneva in 1954, the Vietnamese, after defeating the French at Dien Bien Phu, agreed to a cease-fire, when promised free elections and unification in 1956. Diem's U.S. constructed government refused even to discuss elections, took land away from the peasants and returned it to landlords who had sided with the French, and launched a campaign of repression against all who had fought the French. This forced the peasant-fighters back into the jungles and led to the formation of the NLF in 1960. The Vietnamese will never leave themselves open to another such betrayal.

POINT 2.

This point offers the *only* possible method by which American POW's can and will be returned home. The prisoner of war issue has become one of the most distorted issues of the Indochina war. This is largely due to a concerted attempt by Nixon to diffuse the overwhelming sentiment of the American people against the war. Statements in rapid succession by Laird, Rogers and Henry Cabot Lodge, concerning the mistreatment of American prisoners were an attempt to marshall support for an increasingly unpopular foreign policy.

The only evidence for the accusations of mistreatment by the North Vietnamese are the statements of Lieutenant Frishman and Apprentice Seaman Hegdahl at a government sponsored press conference in September, 1969. There they made serious accusations involving torture and abuse. When interviewed by the press only a month earlier, however, shortly after their release from North Vietnam, they described their food, housing, and medical treatment as 'adequate' (N.Y. *Times*, Aug. 8, 1969, p.12) and they "assured relatives of Americans left behind in the North Vietnamese camps they had no cause to worry." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Aug. 6, 1969, p. 12). It took a month of intensive Pentagon debriefing to enable them to "remember" how they had been treated. The other seven prisoners that have been released do not corroborate the Frishman-Hegdahl horror stories, and have been officially requested by the government to remain silent. One, Major Thompson, said that he was obliged to submit to interrogation several times, but that his captors never used threats or pressures against him during the questioning. Thompson also said that when a particular question involved classified material, that the interrogator dropped the subject.

As Mrs. Mildred Brown of Newton said on March 3rd--she is the mother of Capt. Paul Brown, who has been a prisoner in North Vietnam for almost three years--"...set a date that they will get everybody out and, from what I read in the papers, Mme. Binh says that if they set a date, they will discuss releasing the prisoners. Some people say they won't do that. Well, I feel that if you don't give them a chance, you won't know if they'll do it or not." Mr. and Mrs. James Warner of Detroit, parents of another POW, have just signed the Peace Treaty, and their names appeared in an ad in the *N.Y. Times*, Sunday, March 8th, supporting the treaty.

POINTS 3 & 4.

Once the date for withdrawal has been set, it would clearly be to the advantage of the Vietnamese to observe a cease-fire, and not to jeopardize the peace by attacking withdrawing troops. The NLF is already in control of most of the Vietnamese countryside, and their support in the cities grows every day. What the Vietnamese desire most is peace, independence and self-determination. Why attack withdrawing troops when these things could be in their grasp. In 1954, the Vietnamese observed a cease-fire and there was no complaint about their conduct, even from the defeated French. Historically, they have kept their part of the bargain, while foreigners and their client governments have broken theirs.

POINT 5.

The evidence that President Thieu and his Vice President, Ky, are imposed on the people of South Vietnam is overwhelming. Their troops are paid, equipped and directed by the Americans, as is their vast police network. They retain their position only by virtue of the hundreds of thousands of American troops which occupy the bases in the cities of South Vietnam. Daniel Ellsberg, the former Marine Captain, who spent six years in the highest Vietnam decision-making positions at the Pentagon and on the White House Staff, has publicly stated, "U.S. military advisers hold out no hope whatever that Saigon could be held with any assurance for three years or even one year if no U.S. military personnel remained in South Vietnam. In fact, through 1969, and as far as is known today, the highest military leaders have never judged officially that the job of holding Saigon could be done...with fewer than 200,000 U.S. military personnel in the country."

Thieu and Ky have outlawed and imprisoned all groups who have opposed them, jailing well over 100,000 political prisoners. Having fought on the side of the French against their own people, their only claim to power is the guns and money of the U.S. government.

POINT 6.

In 1967, Thieu and Ky finally decided it was politically necessary to carry out an election in order to quiet those, especially in the U.S. who claimed that the military regime had little if any support. Thieu and Ky "won" of course. But their victory was a sham. The elections were run by Thieu and Ky, themselves, with the supervision of American and ARVN troops--a situation comparable to Nixon's arming of his campaign workers and assigning them to supervise polling places here.

Before the election two leading peace candidates were excluded from the ballot, although they were far from being supporters of the NLF. General Duong Van Minh, leader of the coup which overthrew Diem, and An Truong Thanh, former finance minister under Ky, who had announced he would camp-

The People's Peace Treaty is the product of dis
ese, held in the winter of 1970. Its exact terms w
National Student Association and their counterpa
back from Vietnam, after negotiating the treaty, t
Nguyen Thi Binh, Chief Negotiator for the Nation
Talks, who gave the Treaty the full endorsement o

Since January, 1971, when the final terms were
professors, women, students, doctors and clergy h
meetings with Vietnamese citizens to discuss term
the activity of Vietnam veterans in supporting the
organization Vietnam Veterans Against the War, g
the war, after which they crossed the border into
entatives of the NLF.

Be it known that the American and Vietnamese people a
names of the people of the United States and South Vietna
land and people of Vietnam. It drains America of its resour
We hereby agree to end the war on the following terms, s
independence and can devote themselves to building a socie
earth.

PRINCIPLES OF THE JOINT T

1. The Americans agree to immediate and total withdrawal
which all American forces will be removed.

The Vietnamese pledge that as soon as the U.S. Gover

2. They will enter discussions to secure the release of
while bombing North Vietnam.

3. There will be an immediate cease-fire between U.S
tionary Government of South Vietnam.

4. They will enter discussions of the procedures to gu

6. The Americans pledge to end the imposition of Thieu-Ky
to insure their right to self-determination and so that all poli

6. The Vietnamese pledge to form a provisional coali
All parties agree to respect the results of elections in v
without the presence of any foreign troops.

7. The South Vietnamese pledge to enter discussion o
freedom of those South Vietnamese who have collabo
regime.

8. The Americans and Vietnamese agree to respect th
Cambodia in accord with the 1954 and 1962 Geneva
affairs of these two countries.

9. Upon these points of agreement, we pledge to end
spirit of self-determination and mutual respect for the
people of Vietnam and the United States.

As Americans ratifying this agreement, we pledge to take
the terms of this Joint Treaty of Peace, and to insure its acce

"The People Must Make the Peace"

liscussions between Americans and Vietnam- were negotiated by members of the U.S. arts in Saigon and Hanoi. On their way , the N.S.A. students met with Madame onal Liberation Front at the Paris Peace t of the NLF"

re agreed upon, other groups of teachers, have supported the Treaty and planned ms for peace. Especially important has been he treaty. Two hundred of them, from the gathered in Detroit in February, to discuss o Canada and signed the treaty with repres-

e are not enemies. The war is carried out in the nam but without our consent. It destroys the urces, its youth and its honor.
, so that both peoples can live under the joy of ciety based on human equality and respect for the

T TREATY OF PEACE

val from Vietnam and publicly to set the date by

vernment publicly sets a date for total withdrawal: of all American prisoners, including pilots captured

U.S. forces and those led by the Provisional Revolu-

guarantee the safety of all withdrawing troops.
Ky-Khiem on the people of South Vietnam in order olitical prisoners can be released.
alition government to organize democratic elections. n which all South Vietnamese can participate freely

n of procedures to guarantee the safety and political borated with the U.S. or with the U.S.-supported

the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos and a conventions and not to interfere in the internal

nd the war and resolve all other questions in the he independence and political freedom of the

e whatever actions are appropriate to implement ceptance by the Government of the United States.

fought on the side of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime. With such a claim he conjures up the image of bloodthirsty soldiers of the NLF racing through the streets of Saigon, beating and killing Thieu-Ky sympathizers at random. Nothing could be further from the truth.

When, in 1945, the Viet Minh, forerunner of the NLF, defeated the French and established a provisional government at Hanoi, the Viet Minh's Peoples' Committee, announcing itself as a subordinate arm of the provisional government, took power in Saigon. A demonstration of over 100,000 marched in support of the Viet Minh and independence. The city was filled with defeated Japanese and thousands of unarmed French. There was never a better opportunity for the Vietnamese who suffered at the hands of the French since 1859 to turn the tables. Official French documents show that during this whole period, only one Frenchman was killed.

According to an eyewitness, Harold Isaacs, (currently an MIT faculty member, and pro-war), the Vietnamese were more interested in carrying on the building of a new government than in seeking revenge. Joseph Alsop, another hawk, wrote concerning his trip through Vietnam in 1954, that the Communist government, much to his surprise, was both "popular" and "almost democratic." Douglas Pike, chief spokesman on the NLF for the U.S. State Department has written that due to its democratic form of organization, the NLF is "the only truly mass-based political party in South Vietnam." Such a government does not have to resort to the repressive measures of the U.S.-supported succession of dictatorships from Diem to Thieu-Ky-Khiem.

POINT 8.

In Cambodia, the Vietnamese took sanctuary in the southeastern provinces to escape the pressures of intensive bombardment of North and South Vietnam. That the U.S. carried out these bombing raids from sanctuaries in Thailand, Okinawa, the Philipines, Taiwan, Guam, and the Seventh Fleet is seldom noted. The Southeastern section of Cambodia is largely unpopulated. The Vietnamese taking sanctuary there did nothing to harrass the Cambodian population that did reside in this area. Only after a U.S. sponsored and directed right wing coup that deposed the popular Sihanouk did the Cambodian "government" complain of this presence. According to official Cambodian government statistics prior to the coup: until May, 1969, the U.S. and its allies were responsible for 1,864 border violations, 165 sea violations, 5,149 air violations, 293 Cambodian deaths and 690 wounded. In May, 1970, the U.S. and ARVN forces which invaded Cambodia, in keeping with tactics and policies developed in Vietnam, burnt villages, destroyed rice paddies, and bombed rubber plantations, all to save the Cambodians from Vietnamese "aggression." Before 1970, virtually no aid was given by the North Vietnamese to the popular revolutionary forces of Cambodia, led by the "Khmer Rouge," for it was at best an embryonic movement. With the coup in March, and the invasion in May, the Lon Nol government and the United States gave impetus to that rebel movement. The result was that only several months after the U.S. invasion, Lon Nol had officially to admit that over half of the country, at least, had newly come under revolutionary government.

The situation in Laos is a more complex one. It is certainly true that the North Vietnamese have used the Ho Chi Minh trail to send supplies to the South. But like the famous "sanctuaries" in Cambodia, the area of the Ho Chi Minh trail is virtually uninhabited jungle, and the Laotian people, in rebellion against a U.S. supported government, have supported most of this Vietnamese activity.

The war did not spread to Laos; it has always been there. The Pathet Lao, the Laotian revolutionary movement, was first formed to resist French colonialism. It allied with the Viet Minh as it felt that "Peace in Indochina is indivisible." The situation in Laos has been similar to that of Vietnam. The Pathet Lao controlled substantial areas of the countryside while the French ruled the cities. With the French exit after 1954, the U.S., especially the CIA became increasingly involved. Several neutralist coalition governments were attempted, but each time an American supported right wing coup destroyed the possibilities for a neutral Laos. In 1962, new Geneva agreements provided that a new neutral, coalition government, including the Pathet Lao be formed. But assassinations of Pathet Lao cabinet officials, and another rightest coup in 1964 forced the Pathet Lao to take up arms once again. All along the United States has supported and really created, in addition, a mercenary "armee clandestine" to fight the Pathet Lao, and to operate radar bases to aid in the bombing of North Vietnam.

Since 1964, the U.S. has been bombing in Laos, reportedly to cut off the Ho Chi Minh trail. Most of the bombing, however, has occurred in Northeast Laos, the area controlled by the Pathet Lao. Much of this area, the Plain of Jars, for example, has been almost totally defoliated and depopulated. The Rand Corporation reported that not a stick was left standing in all of Northern Laos. When the intensive bombing of North Vietnam was stopped in 1968, the planes were simply diverted into Northeastern Laos, far away from the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Now, under the direction of the U.S., the South Vietnamese Army has invaded Laos. Who is the aggressor in Laos?

aign on a straight peace ticket, were both barred by an assembly elected under a law excluding all those who "work directly or indirectly for Communism or neutralism."

When the votes were counted, though, Thieu and Ky could only manage 34.8% of the vote, while their opposition tallied 65%–a sad commentary on the men who supposedly were defending the freedom of the South Vietnamese people. After the election, the runner up, Truong Dinh Dzu was slapped into prison for talking about peace and neutrality in his campaign. Binh Kien, Vice President of current affairs for the 25,000 member Association of Saigon Students declared at a meeting that "the elections of September 3rd were nothing but a farce conducted by foreigners."

In Paris, the NLF has stated over and over again their acceptance of a coalition government even including elements of the Saigon government, except Thieu, Ky and Khiem. It is Nixon and Thieu who have categorically stated that they will never permit a true coalition government in South Vietnam.

POINT 7.

Nixon, in explaining why the American military must remain in Vietnam has said that an NLF victory would mean the slaughter of anyone who has

intense, even more destructive.

Nixon appears to feel that completely unrestrained bombing of the North Vietnamese population would eventually force Hanoi to "negotiate" with the U.S. and give up the 30 year old struggle to rid Vietnam of foreign troops. The resistance of the North Vietnamese to the bombing under President Johnson won them the admiration of the whole world. But to Nixon all that resistance meant is that next time we'll just have to drop more bombs, destroy more towns, defoliate more land, kill more people, cause more pain. Nixon's three point strategy of withdrawing U.S. troops to reduce the high casualty rate, while throwing increasing numbers of badly trained ARVN troops into battle (often with only a few weeks training), and engaging in saturation bombing, has escalated the destruction of the people and land to unimaginable levels--which never get publicized. As Defense Department statistics show, the U.S. Air Force drops the equivalent of three Hiroshimas a week on the countryside of South Vietnam. The rate of birth defects there is 6 times that of Hiroshima after the U.S. dropped the Atomic bomb.

All of this points to an underlying assumption of Nixon's strategy: Americans won't care if the people and land of Vietnam are destroyed, as long as few Americans suffer.

And if "conventional" bombs can't persuade the Vietnamese to be more reasonable about letting us stay in their country, there is always the threat of nuclear weapons. Of course Nixon ruled this out in a press conference a few weeks ago. Last summer he "ruled out" American air support in Cambodia, only to start providing it later on when he felt that the American people had stopped thinking about Cambodia. If things get to the point where the American people have stopped thinking about Cambodia, if they get to the point where we have stopped thinking about Indochina altogether, then everything that Nixon is "ruling out" now will be up for discussion again--including nuclear weapons.

There are many advantages to air war for Nixon. It doesn't require many troops and doesn't involve very high U.S. casualties. It also doesn't require the co-operation of any Vietnamese: most U.S. bombing in Indochina is carried out from bases in Thailand and aircraft carriers in the South China Sea. There is no way, moreover, for the Vietnamese to defend themselves against American air power. Vietnam is a poor country: the Vietnamese have no air force to speak of, and by and large their land is completely at the mercy of our bombers. Whenever they do threaten to shoot down some of the U.S. planes that are attacking them, the U.S. government reacts as though the Vietnamese have committed some kind of crime against humanity. During the last few months, Nixon and Laird have turned each defensive act by North Vietnamese anti-aircraft installations into a pretext for more bombing raids.

Unlimited bombing, however, isn't really much of a strategy, since past experience indicates that while American bombing can create almost unimaginable devastation and misery in Indochina, it can never force the other side to surrender. But Nixon doesn't have a lot of strategies to choose from any more. Everything that the U.S. has tried to do in Vietnam during the last ten years has proved a failure.

In recent weeks, with the invasion of Laos threatening to turn into disaster for the ARVN troops, there have been ominous hints of an even greater escalation. The North Vietnamese have made it clear that the bombing of their country has begun again--if only sporadically at the moment. Men recently returning from service on U.S. ships of the Seventh Fleet have reported the stock-piling of Tactical Nuclear Weapons and the training of men to use them. Thieu and Ky alternately suggest and demand the invasion of the North. The bombing of Cambodia Laos and South Vietnam intensifies.

To have peace, we are going to have to make our government accept the Peace Treaty as the only solution to the war. Nixon is still committed to winning the war, forcing the Vietnamese to accept American domination of South Vietnam. He will continue to prosecute the war until the cost of doing so is too great. It is our job to make the cost of the war unbearable. What we in the U.S. can do is to make it clear to Nixon that even if he can "win" by wiping out the people of Vietnam, he will no longer be able to govern America.

Our economy, our technology, our political system, need stability. As long as that war continues, that is the one thing we cannot allow. We can begin to build a movement which can make this country ungovernable so long as the war continues, by working on two levels:

1) By isolating Nixon politically--that is by organizing vocal, broad-based support for an immediate end to the war, centering on the setting of a date for total withdrawal of all American forces in Vietnam. It is especially important that this demand be rooted among the very people Nixon has been accustomed to believe he can marshall to support his policy--working people.

2) By showing clearly and dramatically this spring that large numbers of people, from all parts of the society, are willing to act on their desire to see the war ended, that many will march and strike, especially through non-violent disruption of the Federal government--until the war is ended.

To build the kind of movement that could end the war, we have to do more than we have ever done in the past. Traditionally, the anti-war movement has organized chiefly around two national mobilizations each year, focusing its efforts mainly on students and liberal professionals, and basing its appeal on the lowest common denominator of understanding of what the war in Vietnam is about.

What this type of organizing has failed to do is build a movement that can sustain activity on a day-to-day basis, that can see through the succession of deceptive claims made by successive administrations ("winding down," "vietnamization," etc.), and that can therefore, initiate broad, strong actions against the war whenever they are called for--not two times a year and not merely in response to some major escalation or atrocity.

THE PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY is being used this spring to begin the kind of educational process about the war that can lead to broad-based active opposition. The treaty embodies the essential elements of the NLF's peace proposal in Paris--and what are, in fact, the only conditions upon which they will agree to stop fighting. The idea behind the treaty is that while the overwhelmin majority of Americans want peace, the U.S. government persists in making war--therefore, the people themselves must make the peace.

In order to make the treaty more than a symbolic gesture, the American people will have to implement it by applying some kind of force. The amount of sacrifice and sustained hard work necessary to do this will only be forthcoming if people have strong reasons for wanting not only a reduction in U.S. casualty figures and in government expenditures on the war--these Nixon can provide--but also an end to the killing of the Vietnamese people. The PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY is a way of beginning to talk about who the Vietnamese people are. It also makes us realize the falsehood in Nixon's argument that troop withdrawals and casualty reductions equal an end to the war. We will only begin to be concerned about the increasing casualty rate of Vietnamese that comes from intensified bombing if we begin to understand the justness of the popular revolution that the NLF is leading. The Peace Treaty provides an excellent forum for gaining that understanding since in order to explain it fully, and justify each of its provisions, we must educate ourselves and others about the history of the war and the Vietnamese struggle for freedom and independence.

It is something that can be used by everyone, in every community in this country, as a way of building support for a specific proposal to end the war. Referendums can be held on campuses and in high schools, meetings can be held in all kinds of communities and work-places, which enable people everywhere to ratify the treaty and serve notice to the U.S. government that we will settle for nothing less than a complete and rapid end to the war.

Such a broad ratification of the treaty could isolate the Nixon administration at a time when its counterpart in South Vietnam--the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime--has been isolated by the massive opposition of the people of Saigon.

If we have set up organizations that have built support for the treaty everywhere, we will be able to launch non-violent disruptions of the federal government which can be effective because large numbers of Americans from all walks of life, (and not only students) will participate. These organizations will also have the understanding and commitment to continue to organize opposition to the war should demonstrations this spring fail, by themselves, to end it.

What we are proposing, then, is that Vietnam Action Committees be set up in every community and on every campus which will 1) educate people, including all of us, about the war and how to end it; 2) seek ratification of the Peace Treaty; 3) propose actions this spring to implement the treaty, nationally and locally.

It is crucial that the anti-war movement provide people with ideas and opportunities for active opposition to the war no matter where they live and work.

Action Committees at state and community colleges can hold referendums on the Peace Treaty, prepare for the May strike against the war, and bring the anti-war movement to the working-class communities from which most of us have come. They can set up committees to canvass neighborhoods with the Peace Treaty, and arrange for public community meetings against the war, arrange film showings and public "hearings" and debates, sign people up for strike and demonstration activity on a house to house basis.

Women's Lib

Achievement vs. Femininity

by Madelon Gohlke.

Demands for Women's Courses are flooding college and university campuses much as demands for courses in Black Studies have in the recent past. Many people, as in the case of Black Studies Programs, have mixed reactions to such requests, militant or supplicant. The assumption in both instances that the conventional college curriculum does not serve equally the needs of all its students is disturbing. Why do we need special interest courses? What could be missing in a curriculum which provides opportunities for contact with the great minds of Western Civilization? What ARE women's courses anyway? Is intelligence sex-typed or role-typed? Surely women do not want courses in budget managing, baby care, marriage or cooking? Of course not. What then do they want—a dreary course in minor women authors, painters, scientists or scattered queens and famous whores? Maybe, but the prospect is still depressing. What is wrong, moreover, with the way things are?

Perhaps the best approach to this complex issue is to look carefully at the way things are. If we are offended, for example, by the suggestion that a faction or minority group needs special attention, we should consider the possibility that a faction is being served in the present curriculum offerings. What we offer (without malice or forethought) are men's courses. We analyse, interpret, and present for inspection primarily texts written by men about men. A woman, if I may generalize about my own undergraduate experience, may learn a great deal about Descartes, Shakespeare, Charlemagne or Racine, in the course of 4 years without being able to relate this knowledge to the circumstances of her own life. I do not mean to suggest that a masculine view

Mrs. Madelon Gohlke

of history, philosophy or literature is meaningless or inaccessible to a feminine consciousness, but rather that what a woman learns through extensive contact with the minds of these great male figures has very little to do with the role she is expected to play in society. She is told, on the one hand, that what benefits men educationally benefits women, that the mind has no sex, while she is informed on the other hand, that her biological nature will determine the course of her life.

For the purposes of higher education, we maintain that women are the equals of men and should not be treated differently. Socially, however, we maintain that women are vastly different from men and for the most part inferior. Academically, a woman comes to one sense of herself, largely through masculine views of human nature and of the human condition, whereas socially she learns to think of herself as a peculiarly "feminine" being. Most educated women are thus presented with a conflict between a masculine-trained intelligence and a feminine anatomy. I am skirting the question of whether there is something peculiarly feminine about a woman's intelligence, since this problem has never been resolved to anyone's satisfaction. The fact that we assume, from I.Q. and creativity tests to Law Boards and Graduate Record Exams, that there are no significant differences between male and female intelligence seems more to the point.

There is a basic contradiction between the way women are viewed by institutions of higher learning and the way they are viewed by society at large. We educate women as if they were to exercise their intellectual and creative talents to the fullest, as if they were to become, like their male counterparts, doctors, lawyers, teachers, politicians, artists, leaders in society, whereas we never actually expect them to do so. We seem to urge them in one direction only to divert them and to point them in another. We prepare them for one kind of life, at the same time that we provide very few opportunities for them to pursue that life outside of college. We expect women along with men to develop a passion for a subject, to begin to define a life work, only to abandon it when a husband and family appear on the scene. Our just educational concern with the potential talent of women is incompatible with our requirement that they fulfill only certain social roles, primarily as wives and mothers. Bruno Bettleheim defines this problem with particular clarity.

"Consider the contradictions which are thrust upon the growing girl. For fifteen years or more she is officially encouraged to compete with boys in the schoolroom, to develop her mind and her initiative, to be second to none. She may study the same physics and history, as her boyfriends, work at jobs not too different from theirs, share many of the same political and social interests. And then our curious system insists she "fall in love" with a potential husband: she is in fact expected to love giving up what she may have loved until then, and suddenly find deep fulfillment in taking care of a child, a home, a mate. Her

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up in the assertive shadow of what has been called the Protestant-capitalist ethic. According to this ethic, a premium has always been placed upon ambitious, hard-working secular individualism, and this has long been done at the expense of communal, interpersonal relations among Americans. Each American is supposedly a monolithic bastion of clear-headed, common sensical independence and self-sufficiency; dependence upon others is regarded as a weakness.

Witness Suburbia U.S.A.: rows and rows and rows of tight-lipped little pre-fab castles, each one with a picket fence surrounding its meagre plot of grass and separating it from the closely adjoining little pre-fab castles next to it.

Man is a gregarious, communal animal though, and loneliness and insecruity result when these healthy sociable impulses of his nature are repressed. But the American individualist is a stoic, he is firmly in control of his soft emotional side—loneliness and personal alienation are not to be expressed in public places. Not only are Americans competitive individualists, they are fully expected to be such: deviations such as socialism and communal living are strictly verboten, and the tyranny of the majority rules with an iron

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The Vermont Academy of Arts and Sciences' Seventh Annual Student Symposium gave a good try at presenting a convention of Vermont student work in the natural and social sciences, poetry, fiction, and the performing arts of music, dance, film and drama, but like an overworked sentence too long, too crowded and too unwieldy, it just sat on the page of a Saturday (last Saturday) like a lump- now gone, thank god.

The idea of the Symposium was to hold "an open session of creative events," (according to the VAAS) with representatives from Vermont colleges. The colloquy would hit about every area in which a college directs its studies, from Continental and Marine Biology to dance, film and poetry in (aha!) one day. Consequently, approximately 100 Vermont students each presented his own "creative event," all within the space of a day. The old VAAS unfortunately bit off a mouthful more than anyo. could chew.

Worst was the morning session, two hours long, which covered social science, humanities, natural science, poetry and fiction. In this time, a total of 43 students presented their efforts in the five divisions. One could not take in more than one division at a time, and thus a choice had to be made between a lecture on environmental geology and the reading of "Maggots Just Don't Make It," both of which could conceivably be worthwhile attending.

A panel on student art in Johnson that afternoon was not much better. The four panel members, faculty from four of the colleges, including Dean Turner, threw their discussion open to all comers; hence a half-dozen theories of art, good art, bad art and "well-can-this-be-considered-art?" The most powerful object of the day was a funeral flower arrangement in the center of the gallery floor.

The performing arts sector also suffered from creative overkill; nine performances of music, dance, film and drama in less than three hours were too much to sit through and impossible to consider singly, as they might have been in other conditions. The Academy's mania for categorizing was painfully clear when a Middlebury project "All Here In One Bed Lay," a mixture of slides, film, music and reading was placed in the same "Music" category with a folk guitar duo.

The most powerful stuff, though, could be found in the performing arts, in the "Elegy for Piano, Strings and Percussion," by Middlebury's Tim Rowe, the abovementioned media mix; and two films, Antonis Ricos' "Madonna," and "Walter," by John M. Horne from UVM.

A panel with Vermont commune members on alternate styles of living Saturday evening was of a different character; informal, potentially exciting, but unluckily never to create a self-propelled energy. An opening lecture on the history of communes by George Clay was enlightening, but created a measured, academic air that smothered any spontaneity the commune people might have held for a discussion of their life styles.

Their is no doubt of the collective talent of Vermont students. The Intercollegiate Symposium, however, could not handle all this talent in a one-day program. Unfortunately, like a kid who finishes off a chocolate assortment in one sitting, those who attended the symposium were glutted with "creative events" that formed an amorphous blob in the mental taste buds (although there were a few cherry-creme filled events that stuck).

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PARANOID NATIONAL TYPES

To the Editor:

The proverbial John Bircher imagines that he sees a crouching Commie Pinko or Fascist behind every bush; he further deludes himself by imagining that Decent American Patriotism, Big Bombs, and Old Glory can conquer all Sin and Evil in the world.

I am sickened by such self-righteous, simple-minded, paranoid national types. They are fearful to watch in action. The perverted hold which they sometimes take on men's minds is tragic.

John Froines of the "Chicago Seven" recently spoke here. He imagined that he saw a demonaic, scheming Tricky Dick or General or Senator propped up behind every Pentagon door; Froines further deluded himself by imagining that The Movement and the Holy Brotherhood of Noble American Young People, Freaks, and Rock Bands possess the divine right personally to cleanse The Establishment of all its Sin and Evil.

I am sickened by such self-righteous, simple-minded, paranoid national types. They are fearful to watch in action. The perverted hold which they sometimes take on men's minds is tragic.

Mike Reed

TWISTED IN STRANGE PROTEST

To the Editor

As the snow recedes, as the warm breezes of Zephyrus recommence to announce the approach of the estival season, green shoots and soft branches tentatively thrust their presence, as anniversary of past annual cycles, into the new Spring air. If you go down westward on College Street, and wander onto the grounds of the old Homer Harris Farm, you will find all this, and in addition rusted arms twisted in strange protest, which also seem to be reaching up into the sky.

These two celebrate, somehow, points in a yearly cycle, but they have an entirely different significance. For those of you who were not here last year, or who have bad memories, I might remark that once upon a time there was a STRIKE, and in that strike certain ones, and I among them, felt that we had had enough of words, and that we might make a contribution more specifically our own, by symbolically turning plowshares into swords. We made two large sculptures, which were loathed, protested against, certainly understood, and finally removed in a fit of petulant anger lest they offend the Summer School students.

They had been promised a place of permanent site last spring. Many things were promised last spring. But as soon as the protestors were gone, they were broken and hauled away, and dumped unceremoniously in a junk yard cemetary.

I wonder if anyone will notice, this spring, when the new shoots push insistently forth, that the steel work has disappeared. I wonder if anyone will care. And perhaps it would be pointless to wonder, at this long year's remove from the fervor of Strike Week and all that went with it, if anyone is going to do anything.

William Harris

ORGANIZING SUMMER CAMP

Last summer a group of students including myself organized and ran a day camp for children (ages 9-13) from welfare families in the Bristol area.

Since we had nothing to begin with, we had to seek out funds in the Addison County area, convince the Bristol school board to let us use the

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Pursuit of Loneliness

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fist. Hippies, Woodstocks, and the entire back-to-nature cult strike awful fear into the American middle-class heart.

Just as Mr. Slater tauntingly despises America's ethic of human fragmentation and separation, he is also highly critical of the very types of people who have historically tended to come to and thrive within America:

> "If we gained the energetic and daring, we also gained the lion's share of the rootless, the unscrupulous, those who value money over relationships, those who put self-aggrandizement ahead of love and loyalty. And most of all, we gained a critically undue proportion of persons who, when faced with a different situation, tended to chuck the whole thing and flee to a new environment."

Such language is harsh and yet perhaps to an appreciable degree justified. From its beginning America has been populated by immigrants, by restless, rolling stone personalities who tired of the problems and inequities of their native lands and thus came to this country. A people accustomed to readily packing up and moving on to greener pastures and rosier sunsets might also evade pressing problems.

Thus Mr. Slater contends that Americans repress and frustrate their real desire to deal directly and forcefully with their national ills. "Our approach to social problems is to decrease their visibility: out of sight, out of mind." Keep the blacks in the inner-city slums, overwork teachers and then pay them poorly, pollute the rivers but don't tell me about it. Mr. Slater has come up with a marvelous term for such attempts to avoid ugly realities: he calls it "the Toilet Assumption—the notion that unwanted matter, unwanted difficulties, unwanted complexities and obstacles will disappear if they are removed from our immediate field of vision."

If the American ethic of competetive individualism is Mr. Slater's first villain, then technology, the almighty machine, is his second. He considers Americans to be the passive, groveling slaves of galloping technology: glib, idiotic phrases like "you can't stop progress" begin to echo painfully in the ears.

Americans persistently demand bigger and better everything even though many such dubious "improvements" may not be at all necessary or justified. Not only must Joe Doe keep a two-car garage filled, but those two models must not be more than a year or two old either. This is the same Joe Doe who screams about the city traffic but who won't himself take a bus or vote in favor of a mass transit system. For better and for worse, computerized machinery is making traditional human talents antiquated and useless. When the U.S. Congress recently declined to give the makers of the incredibly expensive and impractical SST further federal funding, a number of indignant opposition Congressmen accused such a decision of being un-American and reactionary: God forbid, the Russian and Anglo-French planes would now actually monopolize world sales.

According to Mr. Slater, Americans have achieved a high degree of material prosperity through the years only at the expense of their own psychological and emotional well-being. He asserts that Americans have long repressed their own sexual and interpersonal

"Loose And Wishful Symbols...."

Mr. Slater, who seemingly makes it a point to be the sympathetic friend of all recent American minority elements—hippies, the New Left, oppressed womanhood, the blacks—is very severe with middle-class parents. He portrays them all as stuffy, uptight utilitarians who refuse to concede that bodily pleasures might even be worthy ends in and of themselves.

Having revealed and ruthlessly dissected America's cultural evils, what does Mr. Slater envision for the future? Is there an existing or potential force capable of successfully opposing the suicidal march of middle-class America?

He is a firm and optimistic believer in the "protean counterculture now burgeoning in the United States." He refers with deceptive self-assurance to two separate and distinct cultures existing within this country today. "I speak of two cultures because we no longer have one. Mixing the two that exist does not add up to the American way of life. They cannot be mixed."

One of these cultures, the emotionally repressed and reactionary "old culture," is purportedly the pathetic and corrupt carrier of all of the varied problems and woes outlined above. It is middle-class, it is spiritually starved, it is the pandering lackey of technology.

The second culture however, the "new culture" or "counterculture," "is based on the assumption that important human needs are easily satisfied and that the resources for doing so are plentiful." This new culture is supposedly above all a people-oriented culture: it demands that the body and personal relationships be made more important than material possessions, artifacts, "things."

Mr. Slater's hope for the future is that the new culture's humane values might infiltrate and triumpth over the corruption and decadence of the "old culture." Although he does not offer much in the way of specific details, Mr. Slater believes that another American revolution of one sort or another is inevitable and justified. Middle-class American "behavior" and "institutions" must be changed. Man must declare his independence of the machine, people must come together, individualism must absolutely be "assigned a subordinate place in the American value system." Hopefully, liberals and radicals can learn to coexist and work together.

A great deal of what Mr. Slater has to say in this book is at least worth considering. He is a perceptive critic of the other side, the sorrowful, failed side, of the American Dream. He accuses Americans of being a materialistic, deadened, spiritually sad and lonely people. He accurately points out that American young people, for all of their angry radical ultimatums, are as nostalgic as they are revolutionary: they too yearn for an older and different America, an America which hopefully existed before the "progress" of the twentieth century hit it like a runaway locomotive.

His conclusions are not satisfying though. His black and white delineation of two separate and clearly opposed cultures will not hold water. Such clear-cut polarities are nothing but loose and wishful symbols which at best give the curious mind something to tentatively and cautiously work with; they do not precisely define the perpetually shifting and often self-contradictory situation existing in this country today.

America is a nation where endless short-lived fads come and go with monotonous regularity. Today's "counterculture" or "new culture" may very well turn out to be tomorrow's boring and quickly discarded whimsy.. Beads, pot, and sullen, muddle-headed hippies don't alter the course of history. It will take something sturdier and smarter than that.

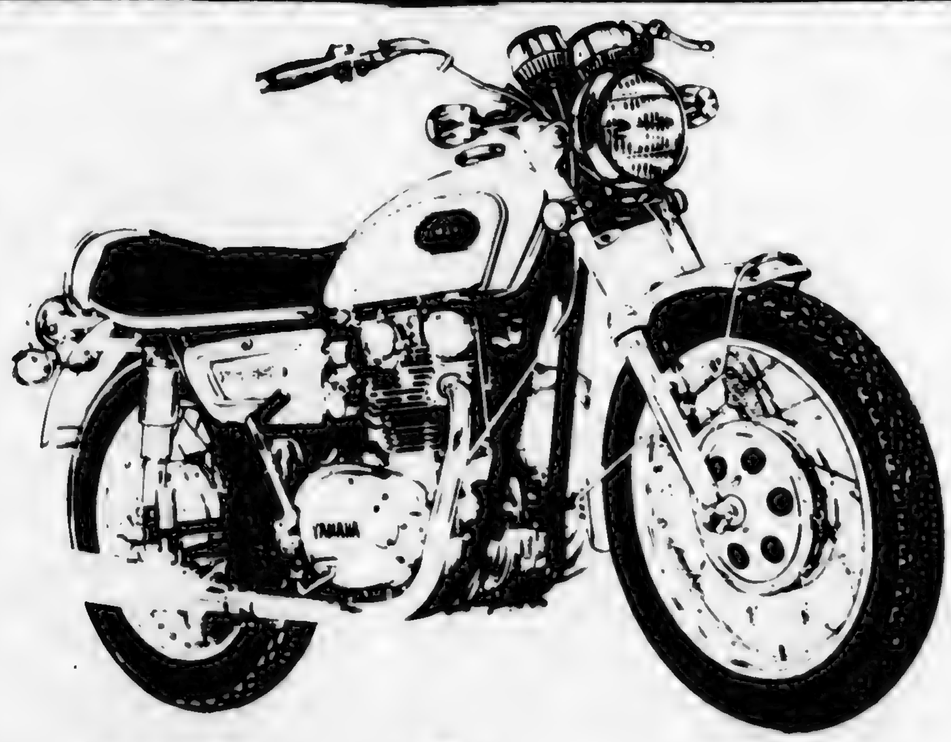
New Line to Speed Feeding

The renovations of the Proctor Dining Hall which are now under way are designed essentially to speed the delivery of food by utilizing two serving lines instead of one. A portion of the old serving counter will be used to serve one line, which will enter through the main door as the line did before. The second line, which will enter through a door in the wall opposite the Information Desk and snake through a small maze of iron railings now being installed, will be served from a new counter.

Small adjustments are being made in the layout of the kitchen apparatus in order to accommodate the increased serving area, but the new counter is the only piece of new equipment being installed. No work will be done on the dining area itself.

The alterations are to be completed in mid-June and are at present progressing on schedule, according to Business Manager Mr. Ross. Except for the installation of the new counter, all the work (including some tricky stainless steel welding) will be done by employees of the College. When asked in an interview about the cost of these changes, Mr. Ross stated that he "would rather not go into that."

Forest East Dining Hall has been opened to take up the overflow from the S.D.U.'s caused by the closing of Proctor. Mr. Ross mentioned that, although Mr. Bridges, the Director of Dining Halls, thought such a thing "impossible," some 500 meals were served in Forest last Wednesday noon.



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Continued from page 9

facilities of Mt. Abraham High School, and talk to many parents of possible campers. We organized the camp program and begged and bought materials. Meeting for 6 hours a day, 5 days a week, we were able to have a program including carpentry, sewing, cooking, art, swimming, games, dramatics, and weekly field trips.

The kids themselves ranged from charming to vicious, one child often showing both extremes during one day or hour. There were discipline problems and family feuds, paint fights and raisin battles. But also, there was the satisfaction of teaching a child who has lived by a river all his life how to swim, and of explaining why the place where fish are raised is not called a fish factory or a fish halfery ("because they're half size, right?"), but a fish hatchery.

The kids are anxious for another program this summer, and ask us about it often. Unfortunately, most if not all of last year's counselors are too impoverished to spend another six weeks of a summer working for free. This summer, everything in the way of funds, organization and location must be started from the beginning. If you are interested in helping, talk to Jim Olivier, Ariane Krumholz, Phil Blocklyn, Carolyn Ungberg or Barbara Atkinson. A meeting will be held for all those interested on Monday April 26 in Procter Lounge at 7:00.

by Jim Oliver

Down Hill

To the Editor

As a first semester student in Robert Hill's English 101 course, I read his dissertation on composition courses with interest. I find it very hard to reconcile his views as stated with his classroom technique.

In the first week of class, he did indeed require a paper on the subject of seduction. The results were poor. The worst were mimeographed and presented to the class for an ablutionary hour of scorn. I am at a loss to understand how this helped improve the level of anyone's writing. The poor goats who were selected for sacrifice must have come to fear the scorn of their fellow students, and disliked Hill for subjecting them to that scorn. I don't think I overstate the case. The "criticism" sessions reached heights of stunning sarcasm, which in the final analysis had very little to do with the writing or the theme of the paper in question.

Mr. Hill also states that most Freshmen can't write. This probably is true. The question remains whether most sophomores, juniors, seniors, or faculty members can either. When a faculty member who champions good prose uses a "right-on" cliche like "meaningful context," or jargon as in the phrase "the cross cultural reference factor," one must wonder. When "the cross cultural reference factor" is used in a sentence filled with examples of bad writing, the irony is inescapable.

The same irony is present in the rest of the article. Mr. Hill calls for a new approach to teaching composition. His innovations are to sit in a circle with his students, and allow them to talk without raising their hands. But he is unable or unwilling to keep the students from looking to him for the "definitive analysis" of a poem or story. They write what they think he wants to hear, at the beginning of the course. What is sad is that they do the same thing at the end of the course. Hill's emphasis on the "right" analysis and too-harsh criticism when an innovative attempt doesn't work discourage a student from trying any method but Hill's.

The article also called for a new involvement by the writer in his work; a growing toward a new knowledge of himself. But Hill's lack of involvement with the students makes this nearly impossible. And a student is discouraged when his introspections for the week are mimeographed for the edification of the other students. There is a very difinite teacher-student gap that prevents the communication that is necessary if a teacher is to help a student achieve self-understanding.

Mr. Hill cites the case of a girl who rather pathetically sought his approval by giving him exactly the interpretation of a poem that she thought he wanted. Instead of encouraging her to take a creative turn, he casts imprecations on her future, her eating habits, and finally her ability to think.

She must have felt that he had a warm interest in her progress as a student and in her as a person.

Name witheld by request

Playful Ugliness

To the Editor

A small incident, a small inconsideration: my roommate and I each tried to reach a male friend in Hadley by phone just now. (Simple task: to check on the sharing of a car.) Julie was played with by a series of non-Garys, and finally one guy made some interesting but foul noises into the phone and ended the conversation with "Fuck off." Julie hadn't been particularly aggressive and neither was I when I tried, but I was greeted with about the same nonchalance; voices wandering down the hall yelling "Ga--ry" amid much knocking on doors. It was funny- for a while. Finally I said, "Pretend this is an emergency, okay? Is Gary there?" A girl said vaguely that he wasn't. I don't know whether I believed her or not.

This made us mad. Were they stoned or what? What if it had been something serious? The whole thing seems to me to be symbolic of a general playful ugliness I keep running into. It includes as small but ridiculous an incident as the inconsideration of a small group of kids at the Poco concert who, for quite some time, insisted on standing and dancing, while a large majority of the audience seated behind them obviously made known their desire to see the band. And at "Earth Song" during Conference, we all applauded the free-and-cleanness of the mood, the 'natural approach.' After the play several members of the troupe and audience began to pollute our mutual air with cigarette smoke! (Some of them did stop smoking after I got emotional about the inconsistency of their words and actions.)

I guess we don't say, "Do your own thing" any more- as a phrase, it's out. What do we call this stuff- being good to one another?

by Anne MacLeod

Audience Involvement

To the Editor

I would like to reply to Bill Wellington's article in the past "Campus" about the Conference and particularly about his dismissal of the audience involvement in "Earth Song" as mere jumping on bandwagons. I quote from his article:

> "The other method of affecting audience involvement, that is used by the "Earth Song" troupe, is to make the viewers super aware of their inhibitions and guilt, and to make them feel uneasy about not participating The result is that members of the audience try, usually clumsily, to overcome their inhibitions: to jump on the bandwagon. People who are emotionally touched by such an experiment as "Earth Song" usually give up their intellectual individuality, and react to whatever they are told to react to."

As a member of the audience who did become very involved in the "Earth Song" I would like to explain my involvement. I agree with Bill Wellington that the "Earth Song" troupe made one very aware of his inhibitions. But that awareness isn't something which was new and invented spontaneously for the "Earth Song" performance. Every day of my life I am aware of my inhibitions, my inability to reach out to and involve myself with others.

The point in the "Earth Song" experiment where I became involved by answering the twenty-fifth "Hello" of an actor reaching out to his audience was a very real moment to me. I felt challenged by the tensions increasing as no one would look at him or answer, just as I hope I would be challenged by the now classic situation of looking down from my city window at a girl being raped. I became involved by answering that Hello. I didn't want to become part of the experiment because of guilt but because of a theatrical challenge to my intellectual and emotional ideals.

Bill Wellington reduced all audience involvement as mere jumping on bandwagons and says also that those who did become part of the experiment gave up their intellectual individuality, reacting to whatever they were told to react to. Again I feel I have to defend myself. I cannot see how he can assume that it is possible to separate your emotional from your intellectual responses.

Perhaps that assumption is the reason why our inhibitions exist in the first place - we have such a gigh rational and intellectual identification for ourselves that we can't let anyone see us react emotionally to anything. I don't believe that I compromised any of my intellectual integrity in the answers I gave to the "Earth Song" people. I reacted to most of what they wanted me to react to but I don't know that it was in the way that they expected or wanted - it was my way.

I agree with Bill Wellington that some of the questions askd were very unfair yet I also don't think that's anything new. They were working with some very unfair subjects. I was upset by the impact of the "Earth Song" yet it was a valuable experience and one which I feel is unfair to pass off as only a thoughtless and irresponsible emotional response.

Debbie Steel

Brotherhood

I write this letter mainly because I feel strongly about what I am going to say and partly to release my anger.

There has been much talk of the amount of stealing which has gone on this year, and recently I have heard discussions about plagiarism. Well, I address myself to a specific problem involving both of these. The problem isn't new, but in my mind it remains unjustifiable and something which makes me livid; that happens rarely. That is; a student's conscious stealing of another student's work. I really find it difficult to describe my feelings, but it is definitely one of the lowest, most despicable things done on this campus, or on any campus. I really wish a doer would write and explain why. If there is the remotest possibility of justifying that kind of stealing, I'd like to be informed.

One particular incident prompted me to write this letter - the incident itself is not very important to the matter as a whole, but it shows what one person's utter selfishness does to another. The student in this case is taking five courses to graduate this June; he works as well to pay money to stay here, and he doesn't have the time to do things twice so someone else can pass the time doing god-knows-what and pass in this student's work as his own.

The student put a substantial amount of time into the project, left it where it was supposed to be left overnight, and found it gone today- it is due Friday- he must now redo it, while he really doesn't have the time. I suppose one aspect of this that angers me is that the stealing is fairly easily accomplished and gotten away with as well. And what can a professor do- his hands are tied because he can't mark the student who suffers on what he hasn't seen.

Plagiarism is one thing because it only hurts the student who knowingly does it. This type of stealing hurts a completely innocent person.

We talk about 'peace' and 'loving our brothers.' If my brother would steal my efforts out of his own laziness and selfishness, then I'd rather have no brother at all.

If this letter makes just one person feel low enough and guilty enough to think about it or not steal anymore, then I suppose I'll feel as though I have made some kind of accomplishment.

Anne Common

Student Activities Fee Will Not Fund Yearbook

Every year twenty-four dollars of the "Comprehensive Fee" goes automatically towards the Student Activities Fee. Next year, with almost 1800 students at Middlebury, the Funds from this fee will total more than $42,000.00 The student members of the College Council this year will be distributing the funds in the next couple of weeks to be used next year. In the past, most of the money has gone to the three biggest organizations on campus; The radio station last year received $10,000.00; the Campus newspaper got $8,700.; and the Yearbook $7,900. Adozen other groups received from $1,300 ("Frontiers") to $75 (Spanish Club). Any group of students with an on-going activity may solicit funds from the College Council contact Bill Pettit, Box C 1005.

There will be at least one major change in the distribution of monies this year for next year's use, and that is that the Yearbook will receive no money. Repeat: There will be no Yearbook at all unless someone is willing, privately, to finance and produce it. A good part of the money left over from that venture may go into the production of a photographic journal, or a combination of the literary publication, Frontiers, and a photographic one. The details of such an experiment are still being worked out.

A new item on the budget last year which will continue to be of some importance is funding of a Craft Center and darkroom facilities.

If there is any interest in any of the items herein, please attend any College Council meeting or contact any one of the members of the Council via Box C810.

Distribution of Student Activities Fee Over the Past Two Years

Organization	1969-70 *	1970-71
WRMC	11,044	10,000
Yearbook **	9,336	7,905
"Campus"	9,336	8,471
"Frontiers"'	1,450	1,350
Craft Center		1,750
Coordination Ctr.	790	900
BSMU	750	500
Rifle Club		500
Strike Committee		600
Midd. Forum	210	500
Enviromental Qual.	250	435
Int'nat'l Relations	250	120
Young Repubs.		125
Spanish Club	100	75
Italian Club	475	
Senate	585	500
Speaker's Fund		2,050
Holding Fund		1,596
		$37,636

* not complete
** to be dropped entirely

Mr. "T" Tall, College Ombudsman

"T" Tall's Office: More Than Just Information

The information desk offers more service than just giving information. Checks up to five dollars can be cashed at night and during the weekends, and students may use the duplication machine for a small fee. Here, too, is where Mr. "T" Tall's office is located.

Mr. Tall has three formal titles: Ombudsman, Treasurer of Undergraduate Activities, and Coordinator of Student Activities. As ombudsman, his main function is to provide a channel of communication for students with questions or complaints of any kind. He either resolves the problem himself or sends the student (or simply the problem) to someone who can. Confidential records are kept of all problems brought in, so that if any are repeated, the entire situation can be rectified. Though many colleges are just getting around to installing an omnibus procedure, Midd's has been in existence for three years.

As the Treasurer of Undergraduate Activities, Mr. Tall (with the help of his secretary, Mr. Flickinger) handles all financial accounts for the undergraduate school, among which are the Game Room, Old Bandroom and SDU Grotto accounts. The Game Room charges for the use of the pool tables now, though students used to have to rent out ping-pong equipment also. Students may recommend changes, such as installation of a TV in the SDU's or a new grill in the Bandroom, but the ultimate decision rests with Mr. Tall, in conjunction with the people involved with the particular projects.

If it proves possible with the funds available, chances are it will be done. The MCAB account for all cultural and social programs held in the SDU's and Proctor is a $20,000 account. The MCAB handles this account with the guidance and suggestions of Mr. Tall, Dean Womacott, and faculty advisor, Mr. Stitt. Finally, there are the "99" accounts, subject to the approval of the College Council each year Each account head submits a proposed budget, and is given as much as the Council decides (as close to the original figure as possible)

Some of the larger of these are WRMC, Kaleidoscope, Campus, Frontiers, the Speakers Fund, and the Craft Center The total proposed budget this year was $43,000, although the actual figure is now $38,000. All budgets are coming up for revision shortly. The use of the computerized system this year has resulted in less time spent and better and more efficient service.

Lastly, and perhaps most important, is Mr. Tall's action in the role of Student Coordinator. Any student who wants to start something new comes with his idea to Mr. Tall, who then tells him how to accomplish his objective within an existing campus organization, if possible. He also serves as an advisor to any of these organizations who want help, and in so doing, acts as a liason between them and the student body (All campus organizations must have a constitution that has been ratified by the College Council if they are to receive money from the college.)

After the student's idea has been coordinated into one of these, new complications arise Necessary facilities are obtained, such as use of a building and other general preparations. At this point, the problem is one of coordinating all the events of the week, so that scheduling goes smoothly. Mr. Tall and the MCAB find places for all these non-academic activities, meetings, parties, etc and do the scheduling.

Mr. Tall also serves as a personal supervisor of the Craft Center project, along with assistant coordinator, Mr. Peter Eddy Mr. Eddy is a recent graduate of Dartmouth and is now doing graduate work at UVM. The Craft Center will hopefully have facilities for woodworking, jewelry making, silk screen process, pottery, and weaving, and may be located in the Hillcrest Annex. All plans must be kept flexible until all estimates have been approved and students' enthusiasm has been manifested

Tentatively planned for the spring are: Reevaluation of student constitutions: new equipment for the SDU's: Spring Weekend; completion of the Craft Center. "All these innovations, projects, and ideas are to encourage students to get involved," says Mr. Tall. "I'm here to help you do what you want to."

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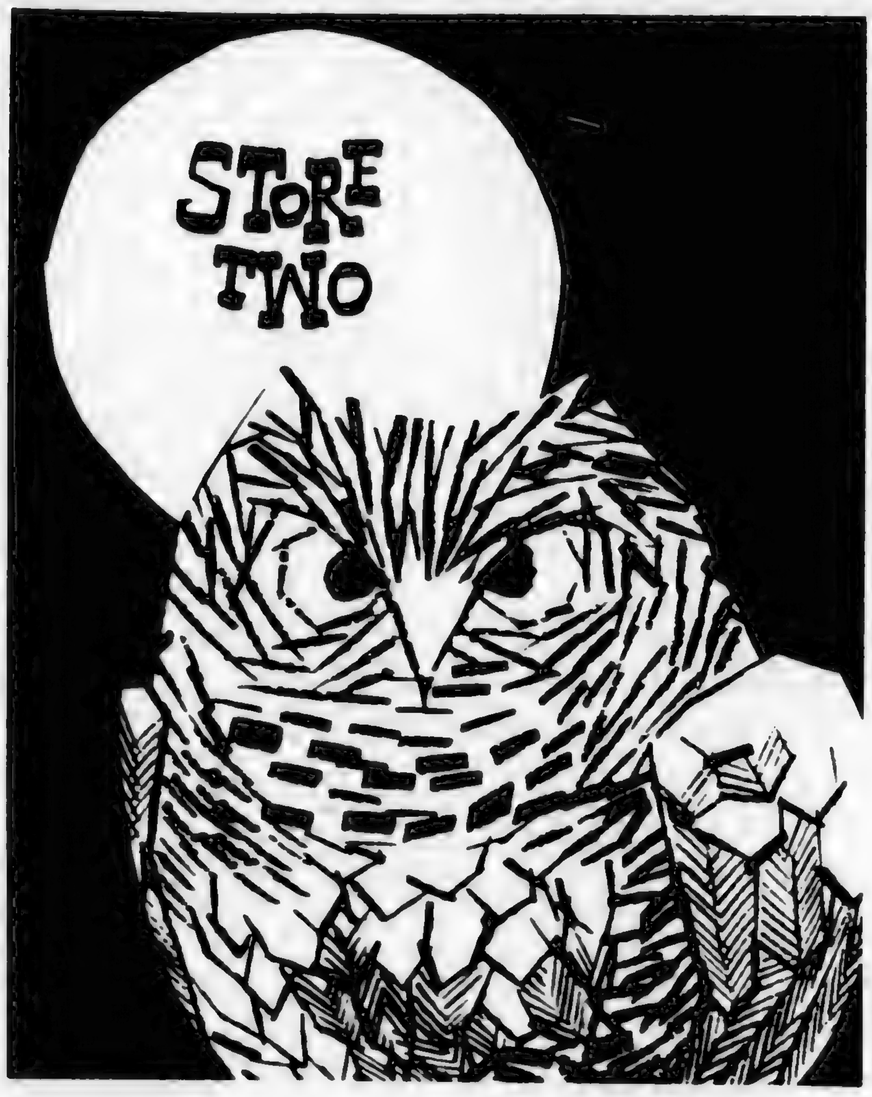

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Spring Weekend to Be Rain or Shine Success

The annual Spring Weekend is scheduled this year for April 30-May 2. Sponsored by the Middlebury College Activities Board, with assistance from the Inter-Fraternity Council, Spring Weekend is offering a full gamut of activities. All events will be held rain or shine; alternative scheduling will be arranged for outdoor activities in case of rain.

A Proctor Terrace Party, Friday from noon to 4 PM, will start the weekend. WRMC will be broadcasting from the terrace, providing music and merriment. Fun and games for the afternoon may include a frisbie contest for Middlebury flingers. Friday afternoon will also see the first annual Bike Stampede, a bicycle relay to be held on the campus. The contest will be organized for 4-man teams. Organizer Bill Johnson anticipates a strong turnout. Later that afternoon the grotto of SDU-B will be the scene of a Wine and Cheese Party. Admission for the party, scheduled for 4:30 - 6:30, should be about $.25

The concert Friday night at 7:30 at the Field House will feature two groups, Boz Scaggs and It's a Beautiful Day. Boz Scaggs has recently become well-known in Boston and the south. It's a Beautiful Day is probably best known for their recording, "White Bird." MCAB president, Bruce Grogan, said the Activities Board is taking some financial risks to bring the two groups to Middlebury, as part of a gradual attempt to upgrade the quality of concerts at the college. An enthusiastic response to this concert should enable the Board to present increasingly better name entertainment. Ticket sales begin Wednesday evening, April 21; tickets will be $3.00 in advance, $3.50 at the door. The Field House doors will open at 6:30 Friday night.

Following the concert, there will be open fraternity parties.

A number of outdoor events are planned for Saturday, May 1. A motorcycle race promises high-speed excitement at Bittersweet. Three of Middlebury's varsity athletic teams will compete on home fields: Midd men will take on St. Michaels in baseball at 12:15; the golf team will meet Clarkson and Union at 1:00; and Lacrosse men will face Union at 3:00.

Saturday evening beginning at 5 PM, a buffet dinner will be served on the terrace of the SDUs. Teak will play outside following the dinner, for a free-beer terrace party. The whole college is invited to these events without cost. At 11 PM, HARPER, starring Paul Newman, will be shown in Dana, admission $.50.

There will be open fraternity parties Saturday night.

The Sunday morning chapel service will be held at its regular time, 11 AM. At 1:00, the IFC will again sponsor a Demo-Derby, at an open field off the Lake Dunmore turnoff of Route 7. WRMC will be on location bringing live coverage to the campus, and providing musical accompaniament for the mobile mishaps. HARPER will be reshown Sunday night at 7:00 and 9:30.

The Spring Weekend calendar prophecies a lot of good fun. If Spring herself will grace Vermont with her presence, the weekend of April 30 should be a big success.

It's a Beautiful Day

Mute World of Laughter and Life

It is very seldom that one medium is capable of transcending the boundaries of culture, but the German pantomimist, Rolf Scharre, who performed here last Friday evening did just that through his art. Scharre uses his mime to express the universalities of human nature, the common experiences of man not confined to any one culture. In this way, he is able to communicate with all audiences, regardless of age or nationality. His enthuiastic reception by audiences around the world, not to mention a standing ovation at Middlebury, attests to this fact.

The secret of Scharre's art is that he does not imitate, but rather creates. He does not mimic life, but composes his own situations, unique in their particularity, universal in that they are experiences shared by many. His art is not for amusement; rather, it provides revelation and insight. The irony is that in revealing us to ourselves, the mime is really funny. The audience thinks they are laughing at the pantomimist, when in reality they are laughing at themselves, and the pantomimist is laughing at the audience. By isolating every day emotions and experiences under the focus of a mute world, Scharre expresses the tragedies and comedies of life. The focus is sharpened by the difficulty of the art and its consequent precision. In the words of the program, the pantomime "...aims at embodying the essence of the words in the attitudes and artistic gestures of the mime." Needless to say, the body control (including facial expressions!) necessary to accomplish this is phenomenal.

The program was too long to describe in detail, but some of the best pieces were "An Evening At Home," "The Assembly Line Worker," "The Street Entertainer," and "The Cleaning Lady." The first two were both protrayals of men attempting to escape from the banalities of life. "An Evening At Home" depicted the obsession with the television set in an attempt to forget real life. The resulting frustrations from constant interruptions such as a restless baby, callers, not being able to find a can opener or a match, were really funny, but all too true. "The Assembly Line Worker" was a laborer's daydream on the production line. He escapes from his drudgery by reflections on good times: dancing, drinking, smoking. The smoking escape (smoking as in grass) was really brilliant. One could literally feel the impact on the audience (mostly college students) as Scharre's accurate protrayal of getting high hit home. Words cannot express that which had to be seen and felt.

"The Street Entertainer" was a story with a truth about human nature attached. In this sketch, Scharre played a clown who performs tricks and stunts in the hope of amusing passersby to the point where they will give him money. After attracting an audience, the clown performs his entire repertoire but to no avail, until he nearly chokes to death after wrapping a pipe around his neck as a strong man's stunt. At this macabre, near-tragedy, the fictitious audience is delighted and is generous with their money. In this way, the tragic-comic irony of humor is pointedly, and poignantly, portrayed.

"The Cleaning Lady" is a mime version of James Thurber's "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty." A cleaning lady, tired and aged, goes about her daily drudgery, drifting off into different roles which her cleaning reminds her of. Cosmetics on the dresser set her off on a vanity spree as she primps before a mirror, remembering when she was young and attractive and her face free from wrinkles. Her mop reminds her of the young men she used to dance with: in scrubbing the floor she becomes an enticing, exotic belly dancer, and so on. Rolf Scharre's sensitive portrayal of this sort of daydreaming common to all, gives the audience a moving look at one of the idiosyncrasies of human nature.

All the sketches were similar to these four in that a bit of truth, comedy or tragedy, about human nature was presented. The only two problems which the program were that it was a little long, and sometimes, in trying to be subtle, Scharre succeeded too much and it was difficult to tell what the motion was supposed to be. But this happened rarely and may have been the result of becoming accustomed to pantomime, as the ambiguity seemed to occur mostly in the beginning of the program. But these flaws pale next to the success of the program as a whole. Seldom has an author been able to depict with words the poignancy of human nature behind laughter as movingly as Rolf Scharre did with his pantomimes.

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Women's Courses

Continued from page 9

life is to be filled with what are, to her husband, after-hours occupations, and the training of her youth is seemingly intended to fall away like an afterbirth. After years of apparent equality, it is made clear that males are more equal, and some females resent this. And they should. Our educational system has ostensibly prepared them for a kind of liberated marital and occupational life that in fact rarely exists in our society; at the same time it celebrates the values of an antiquated form of marriage from a time when wives were prepared for little else."

A college or university education adequately prepares men to function in society whether they choose to do so or not; the same education prepares a woman to fulfill a role which for her sex is largely non-existent, while ignoring completely the maternal role which she is almost universally expected to fulfill. There is no overt conflict between the kind of education a male student receives and his lifetime expectations. Every woman on the other hand, who pursues the interests she may have discovered or developed in college in a professional way faces an unavoidable conflict between her aspirations and the potential responsibilities of wifehood and motherhood. This glaringly obvious problem, however, is rarely discussed, with the result that each woman must find her way, painfully, hesitantly, and alone. Many women, finding the pressure of playing essentially two conflicting roles too great, give up. The fact that most women reach this point beyond their undergraduate years does not provide adequate justification for disguising or ignoring the problem.

Are we as educators, for instance, clear in our minds about what we expect of women students? I hear jokes about women who are more concerned about catching a man than earning a degree often enough to make me wonder. Do we convey to women students, subtly or otherwise, an uncertainty regarding their ability to see a difficult and demanding project to completion or a hesitancy about the value of their attempting such work through the conviction that it not matter in terms of their future? What kind of psychological damage is done by the ofter quoted but unsubstantiated claim that although women at Middlebury (or elsewhere) get better grades, the men are more creative? If a woman is not expected to fulfill her potential, will she gradually learn to expect less of herself? Given even the most favorable circumstances, moreover, most women will perceive a conflict between intellect or achievment and femininity.

If a woman comes to ally her intelligence with masculine values by learning to think philosophically, literarily, or scientifically through male models, how is she to affirm her femininity? Will she come to feel that the claims of her mind and of her entire sense of herself as a woman are at odds? Matina Horner, in a study carried out among undergraduates at the University of Michigan, concludes that women do in fact feel profoundly ambivalent about achievement (a value which we strive almost compulsively to develop in every male child) through fear that success, academic or otherwise is masculine.

"Thus consciously or unconsciously the girl equates intellectual achievement with loss of feminity. A bright woman is caught in a double bind. In testing and other achievement-oriented situations she worries not only about failure, but also about success. If she fails, she is not living up to her own standards of performance; if she succeeds she is not living up to societal expectations about the female role. Men in our society do not experience this kind of ambivalence, because they are not only permitted but actively encouraged to do well.

For women, then, the desire to achieve is often contaminated by what I call the motive to avoid success. I define it as the fear that success in competitive achievement situations will lead to negative consequences, such as unpopularity and loss of femininity. This motive, like the achievement motive itself, is a stable disposition within the person, acquired early in life along with other sex-role standards. When fear of success conflicts with a desire to be successful, the result is an inhibition of achievement motivation."

What happens under these circumstances to a highly motivated female college or university student? She feels pulled in two directions. She seems to live in two unreconcilable worlds, one which expects her to be outgoing, independent, innovative, and self-confident, while the other expects her to be submissive, passive, dependent and supportive. Is it any wonder that many women feel it impossible to reconcile these conflicting demands, choosing instead to fulfill one aspect of their nature at the expense of the other, in order to maintain some kind of psychic coherence. It is primarily the intolerable conflict between the set of masculine stereotypes relating to work and the opposite set relating to femininity which is responsible for the tendency of women to drop out of graduate schools, professions, or any sustained intellectual or creative endeavor rather than lack of passion, motivation, commitment or ability. Here I speak from personal experience and from the experience of many of my close friends, brilliant and talented women, who have found it difficult, exhausting or impossible to fulfill so many continued, various and conflicting claims on their natures.

Why do we never alert women students to these problems--or when we do allude to them fatalistically as incapable of resolution? We encourage women in college to achieve at the same time that we question their commitment beyond their undergraduate years and on that basis discriminate against them in their applications for jobs, graduate and professional schools. Ignorantly or unconsciously, we maintain a profoundly hypocritical attitude towards the education of women.

Most of the problems I have tried to define derive in part from social attitudes which will not be altered or reversed solely by institutions of higher education. Some of the contradictions in the ways we view women, however, could be alleviated by a willingness on the part of colleges and universities to address themselves specifically to the needs of their women students. The conventional college curriculum, for instance, provides little sense of the role of women in history, philosophy, literature or science.

We assume that the major events of human civilization, physical, mental and phychological involve only half of the human race. What do we know about women in preceding centuries in comparison to what we know of individual men? Were women of earlier ages all alike—cooking, cleaning, keeping house, bearing children, dying? Are women, as Lionel Tiger seems to think, programmed for only one basic set of activities? While men were dreaming about the nature of the universe and the place of man in it, were women only minding their chores—century after century, in the midst of extraordinary changes in the conceptions of space and matter, performing the same inalterable tasks with little or no thought beyond the immediate child at their breast? What do I, as a woman, after 8 years of the "best" Ivy League education, know about women of other ages, what they thought, dreamed, loved, were willing to die for? Virtually nothing. And yet I cannot believe that only one half of the human race was allowed to grow, to develop, to change, to question the meaning of their lives, while the other half remained constant, unperturbed, impelled blindly by forces larger than they could ever fathom.

While men find ample models to emulate, perhaps more than they even desire, in their course material, women find either male models or none at all. Because of the mutally exclusive terms in which we as a society define masculinity and femininity, the presence of primarily male models for women students, both on the faculty and in course offerings, is problematic. Women find very little image of themselves in their study and in their surroundings. If a woman student, for instance, who is considering college teaching for a career, looks around herself for some impression of what her life as a college professor might be like, what does she find? At Middlebury, she finds that among 163 faculty members, ther are 29 women, half of whom are employed part-time as assistants or associates in instruction. Among the 14 full-time faculty women, moreover, 6 are employed at the rank of Lecturer or Instructor, the lowest categories of appointment. Among the other 7 there are 3 assistant professors and 4 associate professors, 2 in the academic realm and 2 in physical education. There are no female full professors. I do not mean ti imply that Middlebury has systematically or viciously discriminated against women in employment. The situation at Middlebury seems rather to me to be symptomatic of the general indifference toward the hiring of women evidenced in the soviety at large. Whatever the reason, the statistics from a feminine perspective are profoundly discouraging. Dr. Bernice Sandler concludes, for example:

"Women who are actually hired to teach have not crossed over the last barriers of discrimination. They will be promoted far more slowly than their male counterparts. 90 percent of the men with doctorates and 20 years of academic experience will be full professors; for women with the same qualifications barely half will be full professors. In other words, women have about half the chance that men have to become a full professor. And this is after 20 years of full time dedicated service."

What do we have to offer women whose ability leads us to encourage them to enter college teaching or any other profession? Our enthusisam and concern are belied by the student's own academic environment.

Having found a small percentage of respected, full-time female faculty, suppose the same woman looks again for some indication of how she might combine a teaching career with marriage and a family, hardly an unlikely expectation for any young woman. She finds here and elsewhere, even fewer, if any, women who seem successfully to combine these diverse roles. Betty Friedan describes this deficiency in The Feminine Mystique as part of a widespread phenomenon.

"The only other kind of women I knew, growing up, were the old-maid high-school teachers; the librarian; the one woman doctor in our town, who cut her hair like a man and a few of my college professors. None of these women lived in the warm center of life as I had known it at home. Many had not married or had children. I dreaded being like them, even the ones who taught me truly to respect my own mind and use it, to feel that I had a part in the world. I never knew a woman, when I was growing up, who used her mind, played her own part in the world, and also loved, and had children."

Although a generation separates my experience from that of Betty Friedan, I could say the same. Although I always expected to marry and have children and I always expected great things of myself in an academic sense, I never had any specific idea how

Continued on page 15

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M.C.A.B. Activities

Dan Gilmor and friends will give a folk singing performance in Proctor Lounge Saturday night. Admission will be charged (in a minor way).

"Torn Curtain," a movie starring Julie Andrews and Paul Newman, overflowing with espionage, mystery, action, and suspense, will be shown in Dana Saturday and Sunday nights at 11:00 p.m. Admission is $.50.

Can't somebody stop them from painting Warner Science that same ugly color that it was painted fifty years ago?

Record Number of New Course Proposals Passed

The Faculty passed, at its April meeting, the largest number of new course proposals in recent years. In one lump it passed a quarter-inch pile of new proposals after minimal debate. Dean of the Faculty A. Richard Turner said, in his opinion, the Faculty currently is searching for new ways, and Middlebury does not really have a curriculum at this point.

The Faculty also voted a new designation, Interdepartmental (ID), to be used when, in the judgement of the Curriculum Committee, a course because of its subject matter does not fall within a division of knowledge as represented by the academic departments.

It discussed at some length a proposal by Professor Harris to teach a course next fall on the Meaning of Technology. After defeat of a motion to table, and subject to resolution of problems of space and budget, the Faculty passed the proposal.

The issue was the obscure wording of the course proposal (though one professor pointed our that it was obviously a course on Buckminister Fuller) which Mr. Harris was not present to resolve. The interdepartmental nature of the course also caused some procedural concern, since Mr. Harris' division, Languages, was unable to judge the content of the course.

Competition: The Centering of St. George

The Vermont Chapter of the American Institute of Architects has announced that a competition is underway to create a design solution for the center of St. George, Vermont

Sponsored jointly by the Vermont Council on the Arts and the Vermont Chapter of the AIA, the competition is to run until May 17, 1971, when the entries will be judged and exhibited at Vermont Technical College, Randolph Center, Vermont. A first prize of $1,500 will be awarded to the solution which, in the opinion of the judges, best meets the objectives of the Competition. These objectives are:

1. To provide a conceptual solution for the nuclues of St. George, and its relationship to the countryside.
2. To provide a prototype for town centers and cluster settlements for use by the State of Vermont Department of Development and Community Affairs, as well as local communities.
3 To demonstrate to the public the merits of the design process and the value of competitors as a method of obtaining alternative solutions.
4. To refocus on a sense of community by providing an integrated whole and not a collection of disparate elements connected by roadways.

The people of the Town of St. George have shown their concern in development by buying a 48-acre tract of land for the town nucleus, and have agreed to defer any decision on use of this land until the results of the competition become available to them.

Women's Courses

Continued from page 14

these two equally intense desires might simultansously be fulfilled. In other words, I never knew anyone personally who had done it. Men, on the other hand, regardless of what other real problems they encounter in their careers or in their crises of identity, never face this excruciating dilemma. The simple fact of having a baby does not jeopardize a man's career as it nearly always does in the case of a woman. Any female undergraduate with any sense, even if she feels no psychic conflict between her intellectuality and her femininity, foresees a practical conflict between the demands of raising a family and those of pursuing a career. Many women, unwilling to give up the prospect of marriage, begin to disguise their intelligence, to revise their ambitions and their aspirations to conform more nearly to the conventional life-pattern of a woman. David Riesman describes this attitude among college students.

> "In the better institutions they scorn dilletantism while yet understandably regarding deep intellectual involvement as a potential threat; looking perhaps at some of the unmarried women on the faculty, they may fear that such involvement would cut them off from the life of a normal, average woman, and they are persuaded that it is more important to be a woman than to become some kind of specialist: as the phrase goes, they seek to be rather than to do."

A woman faces difficulties on every hand. She is urged to achieve and not to achieve, to think independently and to act passively, to fulfill herself through domesticity and maternity. Throughout, she is offered consistently only one kind of model to accomodate these diverse demands--that of wife and mother. Surely this situation, for a serious female student, poses a major crisis of identity, yet among all our modern quests for self-understanding, this one very real problem has remained unrecognized and unconsidered.

Most questions relating to women, their roles, their feminity, or anything approximating a female consciousness are considered beneath academic notice. It is assumed that all major issues concerning human nature and civilization are adequately treated in terms of masculine experience. This assumption, however, conceals a fundamental contradiction. Whereas in theoretical, academic terms, men and women are treated alike, in practical and social terms they are not. We maintain on the one hand that the male mind has defined the human condition, binding male and female in a single awareness of the joy and pain of living, while we maintain on the other hand that women constitute a unique category, whose feelings, desires, aspirations, and rewards are foreign to the male mind and experience. We allow the masculine consciousness a scope and universality which denies, obliterates or ignores sex in regard to the basic problems of existence which we wholly deny in terms of everyday living. Men understand what it is to be human, but they do not understand what it is to be female.

A male college student thus through his course of study has some contact with what it means both to be male and human, whereas a woman in the same course of study learns what it is to be human, which either contradicts her sense of what it is to be female or excludes it altogether. We define "the human condition" as inclusive, on the one hand, making no distinctions on the basis of race, creed, or sex, while we see it as exclusive on the other, providing little or no sense of what it means to be black, Hindu or female. As long as we maintain, validly or invalidly, profound social distinctions between male and female, or black and white, for that matter, we should cease to uphold the notion that a curriculum based on a masculine consciousness is universal.

Most of us, having lived through multiple identity crises in college and graduate school, expect this time of a student's life to be filled with self-questioning, hopefully to resolve itself into a sense of purpose and possibility, leading perhaps to a life-work, a commitment to a concern which gives direction and significance to one's life. For women, however, this arduous process of self-definition is largely obscured by the masculine orientation of our curriculum, our faculty, and the society at large. It is almost as though we do not expect them to have a self to define, as if we considered the female identity a given, an outgrowth of the function of childbearing. Women are the invisible minority. We expect them to grow up without help, as though a sense of identity arrives as easily and inevitably as menstruation. Where, on the college or university campus do we provide feminine models of wit, intelligence, strength and vision? What do we want women to be?

It must be clear by now that there are problems in offering women an essentially "masculine" education. The question remains what is to be done? I would like to begin by suggesting that something has been done in a tentative way on this campus and in a more systematic and purposeful way on other campuses. The MLA Commission on the Status of Women in the Profession, for instance, has been largely responsible for gathering and publishing the syllabi for 83 courses in Women's Studies offered on such diverse campuses as: Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Wesleyan, University of Massachusetts, Hampshire, Cornell, Mount Holyoke, Bryn Mawr, Vassar, Barnard, and others. A sampling of titles from various fields includes: "Images of Women in Literature," "The Woman in American History," "Sociology of the Family," "Sex Roles: Psychological and Sociological Implications." There is obviously a wealth of material from whichto draw in the fields of leterature and social science. A good deal of material is no doubt buried in history, biology and psychology which would be revealing to both sexes. What do we really know about "masculinity" and "femininity?" It would at least be refreshing to know the extent of our ignorance.

Two courses were offered during Winter Term on this campus in the field of Women's Studies: my own, an overview of the Women's Liberation Movement, and that of Sylvie Viaut in the French Department on Femininism and Literature. Winter Term courses, however, have no permanent status in the curriculum and are sometimes viewed as less serious subjects of inquiry. Neither I nor my students (6 women, 7 men) felt this way about my course, but nearly all of us encountered joking or skepticism abut the value of our endeavor.

Winter Term courses are obviously subject to the fluctuations of individual interest and to the immediacy of appeal to students. What I would like to see is evidence of college commitment to the course and implications of higher education for women, who constitute at least 40 percent of the undergraduate population at Middlebury. An obvious manifestation of concern in this direction would involve encouragement of the development of women's courses on the departmental level and a positive administrative attitude towards the introduction of such courses. Among the course proposals of the French department next year, for instance, is one on "Images of Women from Corneille to Laclos," to be offered by Mr. Knox. I strongly support this innovative proposal and urge other departments seriously to examine their course offerings in the light of the problems I have described.

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